Class and gender dynamics in *chadō* (Japanese tea ceremony)

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Abstract

This study attempts to understand the current shape of Urasenke[1] *chadō* activities in terms of practitioners' class and gender dynamics. It seeks to capture distinctive elements of Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city, in northern Japan. In order to understand the relationship between practitioners and Urasenke *chadō*, this thesis makes critical use of Bourdieu's (1984) idea of cultural capital.

Chadō is a composite art form and practitioners focus not only on how to make and drink tea in a specific formalised manner but also on related aspects of *chadō* such as architecture, flower arranging, gardening and pottery. At first only men were admitted to Urasenke *chadō* and it was only after the Meiji period (1868-1912) that women were allowed to practise *chadō* in Japan. However, nowadays, the majority of practitioners are women. Since my family members are *chadō* teachers, I have grown up with *chadō*. Urasenke *chadō* combines elegant and beautiful aesthetic perspectives, with complex power relationships of class and gender.

The literature review focuses on class, gender, feminist methodology, identity and ritual and this is examined alongside data from my fieldwork. I was a participant observer of *chadō* activities for twelve months and in addition conducted some 36 interviews in Akita city. With great emphasis on female practitioners' voices, I argue that Urasenke *chadō* is recognised as cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital and used as a tool to improve gender and class inequality in Akita city. This thesis contributes not only to the ethnographic literature on *chadō* and non-metropolitan women in Japan, but also to the debates on research methodology and the theoretical discussion of cultural capital and class. Methodologically, I develop the discussion of the researcher's identity work (Coffey 1999) and the use of family members as key informants. Theoretically, I question the equation of Bourdieu's cultural capital with education in the Japanese context and the significance of normative class discussions.

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[1] Urasenke is one of the tea schools in Japan, there are at least fourteen different tea schools in Japan (Kato 2004).

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Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This first chapter will describe the character of this research. Since my grandmother and mother are *chadō* teachers, Urasenke *chadō* has always been a part of my life. Therefore, I first describe through my autobiography my motivation for doing this research. Then, I will give a summary of the research questions and how they will be addressed. After my thesis overview, the structure of this thesis is introduced. Before my autobiography, I will give a brief explanation of Urasenke *chadō* and my fieldwork site, Akita city.

1.2 Research background

1.2.1 Urasenke *chadō*, its history and current practice

There are at least fourteen *ryūha* (tea schools) in Japan (Kato 2004: 39). Urasenke, Omotesenke and Musha(no)kojisenke are branches of *chadō* that descended from the family of Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), the person who is recognised as the founder of *chadō*. Nowadays, Urasenke *chadō* school is the largest *ryūha* in Akita city and in Japan. Historically, Urasenke *chadō* was established in the sixteenth century and it was only for men. Only after the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) did women begin to participate in Urasenke *chadō* (Sen 1979). During the Taishō period (1912-1925), Urasenke *chadō* spread to girls' high schools (Sen 1988, Anderson 1991: 71). Urasenke *chadō* reached Akita city only after the 1930s and spread there among wealthy women, especially medical doctors' wives (Tankokai Akita Branch 1981). Further, in the 1960s, the increasing availability of electrical household appliances made it possible for housewives (Varley 1989) in Akita city to have more free time and some of them started to practise Urasenke *chadō*. Nowadays, the majority of Urasenke *chadō* practitioners[1] are women[2]. Urasenke *chadō* comprises many different perspectives such as Zen Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and Shintoism, as well as aesthetic perspectives including the study of ceramics, lacquer ware, textiles, calligraphy, painting, flower arrangement, incense, food, architecture and gardening. Thus, current practitioners not only

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[1] In this thesis, I use the term 'practitioner' as a person who attends regular *chadō* practice.

[2] See more details in Appendix B Informants' background.

learn *temae* (tea procedures) but also the history of pottery, calligraphy and other perspectives.

1.2.2 Akita city

Akita city is located in the northern part of Japan on the main island of Honshu. The atmosphere of Akita city is different from other metropolitan areas like Tokyo. Even though Akita city is the capital and the biggest city of Akita prefecture[3], it has a feeling of space. Rice fields can be seen only a couple of blocks away from the city centre. There is no underground train system in Akita city, so many residents commute to work and school by car or bicycle. Almost eighty percent of the residents are involved with tertiary industry, which includes wholesale, retail trade, eating and drinking establishments and services (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005).

There are numerous dialects in Japanese (Sugimoto 2003). Although I was able to distinguish many different kinds of dialects such as Osaka, Kyushu dialects in Tokyo, I seldom heard other than Akita dialect in Akita city. This suggests that fewer internal immigrants from outside Akita prefecture come and stay in Akita city and there is not much population movement (Bandō 2002). Additionally, more senior residents can be seen in Akita city than Tokyo. The percentage of senior residents (65+) within the total population of Akita city is higher than in metropolitan areas (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005)[4]. Compared with larger cities like Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka or Nagoya cities, Akita city has fewer high-level education institutions, job opportunities, and entertainment venues. Therefore some young people tend to leave Akita city and there is a higher percentage of senior residents.

Historically, Lord Satake governed the district of Akita during the Edo period (1603-1867). Lord Satake lived in Akita city which is well known as a *jyoka-machi* (castle-town). During the Edo period (1603-1867), one of the main

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[3] The Japanese nation is divided into forty-seven prefectures. 'Prefectures were first established in 1871, corresponding to several dozen regional units called *kuni* (nation) which had existed for more than ten centuries' (Sugimoto 2003: 55).

[4] The percentage of senior residents (65+) within the total population in 2005 was 26.34 percent in Akita city, 15.8 percent in Saitama city and 16.5 percent in Yokohama city (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005), Saitama and Yokohama cities form part of the greater Tokyo metropolitan area.

industries in Akita area was farming, especially rice farming (Yamada 2005). There were many *jinushi* (landlord) in Akita area[5] and this feudal relationship between *jinushi* and *kosakunin* (tenant farmer) lasted until the land-reform of 1945. Therefore, discussions about ex-samurai, ex-merchant class and *jinushi* are often heard in contemporary times in Akita city[6].

1.3 Autobiography

1.3.1 Childhood experiences

When I was small, my grandmother was in charge of a *chadō* class and because I adored her, I always visited her classroom. She used to say, 'my darling, come and sit next to me and have some nice tea and sweets'. So, I sat next to her with a big smile on my face. The *chadō* classroom was always a comfortable place for me; every student was female and they were kind and gentle. Students in my grandmother's class were in their twenties and above, so I was surrounded by adults. In the *chadō* classroom, I was always the only child and called 'Kaeko-*chan*[7] (darling Kaeko)'and I think I was spoiled. Of course my grandmother and the students were at times very serious in their *chadō* practice, at other times they were chatting and the atmosphere seemed so pleasant.

Though the classroom was part of our house, the class atmosphere also gave a feeling that this was a different world from my daily life. The classroom had a mysterious but nice smell, it was a mixed fragrance of incense, charcoal, and the fresh grassy *tatami* floor (the Japanese straw mat). The classroom was always clean, simple, and warm from the charcoal fire. Pretty tea bowls, tea containers, fans, sweets and flower arrangements in the *tokonoma* (the recessed alcove) entertained my eyes. Another reason that I felt *chadō* class was something different was because of the secret codes in *chadō*. In my childhood, it felt that there were secret signals between people who were in the classroom. They knew precisely how many times they had to bow before having a bowl of tea and what to say and how many steps they should take when crossing over to the following

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[5] The number of *jinushi* under Lord Satake ranked second highest among other lords in Japan during the Edo period (Handa 2005).

[6] See more details about Akita city in Appendix C.

[7] Diminutive *chan*, term used most often as a form of address, usually to a child or to someone to whom you can express intimacy and affection.

tatami mat line, and which foot to use.

Not only the daily practice but also *chaji* (the formal tea gatherings), which were held a couple of times a year in my house, were interesting. *Chaji* were special and needed lots of preparation and my grandmother and mother used to spend many days planning what utensils, flower arrangement, calligraphy, pictures and dishes should be used for the tea gathering. For these occasions, my grandmother and mother carefully cleaned the tea room for days. We went to the market and bought special food to prepare gourmet dishes called *'kaiseki'* for a tea gathering. For *kaiseki,* they prepared beautifully arranged combinations of vegetables, rice, three different types of delicate soup, baked fish, fresh seasonal fish and various types of pickles. My grandmother bought live fish a couple of days before the tea gathering and used to cook them just before serving *kaiseki.* Generally, she kept the fish alive for at least two days in the small bucket. Since the bucket was not big enough for fish, they jumped out occasionally. I was so scared of the live jumping fish, that I could not go to the kitchen for that period of time, and I could not believe that she cooked that grotesque fish for *kaiseki.* Since I could not help my grandmother, I helped my mother, wiping the dishes and lacquer ware trays for *kaiseki*, which were used only for special occasions.

The day of the tea gathering was a wonderful experience. Almost all the students wore a *kimono*, which they rarely put on for *keiko* (daily practice), and they looked beautiful. Everyone wore a *kimono* of a different colour and design. In the summer season, from June, we wore light *kimonos* and the design might be related to water or hydrangeas. In autumn, the *kimono* style changed to a heavy one and some of them were decorated with a coloured leaf design. As a child, I also wore a *kimono,* my mother put my hair up with a big ribbon and I wore bright red lip stick. The formal tea gathering was also like a personal fashion show. The sounds of silk *kimonos* and *tabi* socks in the dark mysterious tea room still remain in my ears.

I remember that my grandfather, father and younger brother once came to the tea gatherings which my grandmother hosted. I was watching from a distance and was quite surprised and embarrassed that they did not know how to drink *matcha* (green powdered tea). They looked at other guests on either side and imitated what they did, but at the same time, they never seemed to be embarrassed about

their ignorance of *chadō*. It appeared that my grandfather and father assumed that Urasenke *chadō* was something that was not for themselves and it was not a serious matter to not know Urasenke *chadō*.

1.3.2 When I was a teenager

Urasenke *chadō* was one of the club activities in Japanese schools and there were *chadō* clubs in my junior and high schools. Many of the students practising *chadō* were girls, and many of their fellow students perceived them as 'quiet', 'good' students, in other words, *chadō* students were assumed to be boring. I did not want to be categorized as a good or boring student, so I decided not to attend *chadō* club. Additionally, as a teenager, my parents became very strict about my scholastic activities, and they did not encourage me to practise *chadō*. So gradually I found myself paying little or no attention to *chadō* practice. Eventually, I tended to think that *chadō* was boring, just sitting and doing nothing except making tea.

1.3.3 When I went to university

When I went to university, I often came back in my hometown, practising Urasenke *chadō* and helping my grandmother and mother at tea gatherings as the third generation of the Yama *shachū*. Yama is my grandmother's family name and the group of students who are learning from the same teacher is called '*shachū*'; this group is categorised as a solid group or team. I had left Akita city, the place where I grew up, and started to live in Tokyo by myself, in order to attend university. My parents and grandparents believed that gaining entrance to a good university guarantees a successful life. Therefore, my parents forced me to study hard until high school but after I entered university, they stopped encouraging me to study since they assumed that it was relatively easy to graduate from university. Instead, my grandmother and mother insisted that I get more involved in Urasenke *chadō*.

This involvement not only meant learning *temae* (tea procedure) but also attending social gatherings focusing on Urasenke *chadō* society and learning many other things. For instance, at the *chaji* (formal tea ceremony), the host and guest communicated with formal letters such as an invitation to the tea gathering

and a gratitude letter. Therefore, I learned the conventional seasonal greeting phrases such as *hastushimo* for the first frost of the winter mountain, *kochi* for the east wind which brings the smell of spring, *koromogae* for the change of clothing of children's school uniform for the beginning of summer, and *zansho* for the lingering summer heat.

I was also instructed to remember the names and meanings of a traditional Japanese sweet called *wagashi. Wagashi* also expressed this delicate awareness of the four seasons. One of the main characteristics of *wagashi* is that each one has its own poetic name and some of these names are drawn from literature. For instance, the *wagashi* name of '*yukimanokusa* (young grasses among the snow)' comes from the poem by Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-1237),

To those who long for the
Flower of spring
See the young grasses
That push up among the snowy hills

From the *wagashi* (traditional Japanese sweet), I could image the tiny sprout pushing forth and enjoying the feeling of coming spring. Moreover, it was highly valued if practitioners knew how to make these *wagashi,* from pounding the rice for *mochi* (glutinous rice cakes) to making the *anko* (sweetened bean paste). I sometimes learned *wagashi* skills from artisans. They taught me how to make beautiful imitations of hydrangea petals or the shape of fresh rain drops with sugar cakes.

Around the time I entered university, my grandmother held a high position in Urasenke *chadō* society in the Akita prefecture since she had been teaching for a long time. Thus, she was occasionally asked to present *chakai* (tea gatherings) in Akita city. These types of tea gatherings were usually open to all people in Akita city, so the size of the tea gatherings was not small. Hosts of tea gatherings sometimes had to serve 100 guests within 30 minutes, and the tea gathering might be held from 9am to 4-5pm on one day or over a couple of days. In order to serve tea for many guests, these gatherings were hosted by many teachers and their students in Akita city. Thus, at these tea gatherings, I met many teachers and students from all over the Akita prefecture.

At the same time, I witnessed a lot of gossip and infighting among these teachers

and students, motivated by the politics and power relationships in Urasenke *chadō*. My mother used to tell me that particular teachers or students were difficult or unkind. I was also told by my grandmother and mother to be polite to everyone and behave myself, especially during these tea gatherings. Additionally, I had to pay attention all the time so that I did not walk clumsily but like an *ojyōsan* (nice young lady). My mother said that this was because teachers and students love to gossip and she was scared that I would be the target of this gossip. I was a little uncomfortable that my grandmother and mother were always concerned about the opinion of other teachers and students. It appeared that they were living in such a small society and I felt sorry for them as they were overly concerned about the other teachers and practitioners' opinions and views all the time. Through my attending many tea gatherings I felt that Urasenke *chadō* was more complex than it seemed.

Tea utensils were carefully chosen to match a tea gathering's theme, especially at the large tea gatherings, where high quality, rare and famous utensils tend to be chosen. My grandmother used to say, 'this utensil was very, very expensive, and Kaeko, I have dedicated all my life to purchasing this one!' I was not even allowed to touch these expensive utensils until the day of the tea gathering, since my grandmother and mother were scared that I might break them. I sometimes wondered why my grandmother had to buy very expensive utensils, even to the extent of taking out loans. It may have been because of the unspoken agreement that all teachers had to provide expensive utensils for these large tea gatherings. As my father tends to comment, '*chadō* is an expensive hobby'. Indeed, practitioners were always buying tea utensils and *kimono*. Additionally, practitioners were expected to give their teachers, as well as a tea school in Kyoto, a gratitude fee for receiving the *chadō* qualification or a teaching license, and it takes a long time to receive a qualified teacher's license.

The social hierarchy of the city was revealed in the guests' seating arrangement at large-size tea gatherings. At the tea gathering, the most honourable guests sat starting from the first seat, which was close to the alcove. Generally the host or hostess decided who (maybe the mayor, the president of a university, or the president of a company) was going to sit where. It was always a huge issue deciding who was going to sit in the first seat and the following seats since, from these seating arrangements, people would know who was appreciated in society

from the *chadō* practitioners' point of view. On these occasions, I rarely saw a woman in the first seat, a man was often offered that place.

I soon realised that the Urasenke *chadō* class was not only a place for practising *chadō* but also a place to socialise. Many of the people who were practising *chadō* were housewives, and I saw a networking system between them. In fact, this networking helps their husbands' business and politics too. My father is a medical doctor and some of his colleagues' wives practised *chadō* in Akita city. These housewives tended to exchange information about their husbands' positions and opportunities in other hospitals or research institutions.

After *chadō* classes, my grandmother and I used to chat a lot, just everyday conversation about the food that day, who was going to bathe first, when she was going to hospital, or when my grandfather was coming back from his local drinking party. During these daily conversations my grandmother used to comment on how she was very different from other women in town. She proudly said, 'I am so different from other women because I am a *chadō sensei* (teacher). Everyone in Akita city knows me as the respectable *chadō sensei,* so I always have to look good with nice clothes and hairstyle'. It was also interesting that my grandmother compared herself only with women in town, but not with men. Similarly, my mother never compared her financial status or social status with men in Akita city.

When I went to Tokyo, many of my friends made comments about Urasenke *chadō*. My friends Chizuko and Kyoko remarked that they often thought that *chadō* was a very posh and beautiful thing to do. Kyoko said, 'oh, that's so *yūga* (elegant) and luxurious'. Moreover, they commented that I was '*sugoi* (wonderful)' because my mother and grandmother were *chadō* teachers and I was also practising Urasenke *chadō*. They thought I was somehow different from them, since I was so involved in *chadō* and because I was the daughter of a tea teacher. My friend Yukari, who was also involved in *chadō*, corroborated their stories from her point of view. 'If I ever mention that I am taking *chadō*, people tell me how *yūga* I am'. Kodama-*san* was one of my grandmother's *chadō* students and her daughter was going to get married. Her future relatives seemed to use very polite phrases with her family in Akita. Kodama-*san*'s husband apparently told Kodama-*san* that she was already trained to speak in polite phrases with

'*zamasu-okusama* (super polite wives)' at her *chadō* class. The phrase '*zamasu-okusama*' is one that implies a wife who uses polite phrases excessively to show an elitist attitude. *Chadō* practitioners were also seen as elitist from an outsider's point of view. I recognised that, in general, *chadō* had an elite image.

I, however, felt a huge gap between the internal and external aspect of Urasenke *chadō* since it seemed to me that *chadō* society was not simply pure and beautiful, but rather full of gossip. For my friends, the image of Urasenke *chadō* was that of the beautiful Japanese *ojyōsan* (nice young lady) wearing a *kimono* and elegantly making a bowl of tea, but my own image of *chadō* was complicated. In terms of utensils, *chadō* philosophy emphasised spiritual meanings and it was not supposed to pay attention to extravagant and expensive utensils. Theoretically, a host could serve a bowl of tea to guests with any utensil. In the *iemoto* (grand tea master)'s speeches to the public, he emphasised that a tea gathering could be held with an inexpensive, even plastic bowl. However, in reality, I did not come across such circumstances. I also had opportunities to listen to Urasenke *chadō* demonstrations abroad (including UK, United States, Mexico and Philippines). Urasenke emphasised that *chadō* was open to everyone. However, it seemed that this statement was contradictory since *chadō* was an expensive hobby with the subtle importance of utensils, *kimono* and gratitude fees.

I attended tea gatherings and Urasenke *chadō* seminars not only in Akita city but also in Kyoto, Tokyo and abroad. I felt that the current *iemoto* (grand tea master) held absolute power and that he was revered almost like a god. Many practitioners call the current tea master '*Oiemoto sama*[8]'. '*Iemoto*' means grand tea master, the prefix '*O*' in front of '*iemoto*' is honorific and very polite and '*sama*' means 'sir' (more polite than '*san*' which is 'Mr.' 'Mrs.' 'Miss' and 'Ms' in Japanese). I rarely heard practitioners say anything bad about him and rarely heard criticism of the fact that the *iemoto* held absolute power, or that the head of Urasenke *chadō* society was the blood descendent of the founder. It appeared to me that many practitioners took these facts for granted and never spoke against the system felt that it was taboo even to ask about the concept of the current *iemoto*. I found that tea *chadō* seminars had many similar characteristics to religion.

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[8] The prefix '*O*' in front of '*iemoto*' is honorific and '*sama*' means '*sir* (madam)' (more polite than '*san*' which is 'Mr' 'Miss' and 'Ms').

When I started to write this thesis, my grandmother was suffering increasingly from pain in her legs. This pain was caused by kneeling on the *tatami* floor for long periods of time during *chadō* classes. It was time for my grandmother to retire from teaching *chadō*. My grandmother confessed that it was difficult for her to retire, that Urasenke *chadō* was her *ikigai* (raison d'etre). I agree that it was her *ikigai*, I knew that she loved it: she had no hobby, and after work, whenever she was free, she always read Urasenke *chadō* books. *Chadō* was my grandmother's life. She always talked about *chadō* as if it was on her mind every single minute. After she retired, she became permanently bedridden. She would continuously ask me, 'how can I live without *chadō* in my life?' She seemed to age quickly after she stopped attending Urasenke *chadō* events. I wondered what it was that attracted my grandmother so strongly to this way of life.

What about my mother? My mother started Urasenke *chadō* because of her mother. She also declared that *chadō* was her *ikigai* and her dinnertime conversation almost always revolved around *chadō*. She commented that her *ikigai* could be seen as slightly different from that of other practitioners, because she had opportunities to teach *chadō* at an academic level and she was very interested in the symbolic values of *chadō*. However, my father and I rarely heard about this type of aesthetic discussion from my mother at the dinner table. Her talk had changed, instead, she discussed Urasenke *chadō* practitioners' and teachers' performance, behaviour and family background at *chadō* classes, seminars and meetings.

Can we simply accept that *chadō* is *ikigai* for women like my mother and grandmother? It was out of such personal experiences of *chadō* that the following research questions evolved.

1. What does Urasenke *chadō* tell us about women's social standing in Akita city and how does *chadō* improve it?

Why did my grandfather and father never learn *chadō* and why did all my family assume that Urasenke *chadō* was something for females and not for males? Why did my grandmother and mother not compare their social position with that of men in Akita city? How does Urasenke *chadō* frame distinct social identities for men and women? What does *chadō* tell us about femininity in Akita city? How does *chadō* reveal the place of women in the gender hierarchy? Japanese women

like my grandmother and mother seemed to have little chance to express their knowledge and ability in the labour market since they were excluded from promotion opportunities. In these circumstances, does Urasenke *chadō* enhance the quality of their lives? Or does it not change anything?

2. What do Urasenke *chadō* practitioners tell us about class discourses and how has *chadō* been used in class dynamics in Akita city?

Urasenke *chadō* seems to have an elegant image on the surface, but on another level, there is much gossiping and infighting among practitioners, motivated by politics and power relationships. Why, then, do practitioners still want to practise Urasenke *chadō*? Is it related to the fact that my grandmother for example, was very proud of being a *chadō sensei* (teacher) and constantly reminded me that she was different from other women in town because she was a *chadō* teacher? Did my grandmother want to differentiate herself from other women of her class? If so, what does *chadō* tell us about the meaning of class? Can *chadō* facilitate class mobility?

3. What is the meaning of Urasenke *chadō* in women's lives in Akita city?

What implications does *chadō* have for women's status in contemporary Japanese society? Why is *chadō* so attractive to practitioners? What message do these women want to send to society and to themselves by their involvement with *chadō*? How does *chadō* change women's contemporary status? How do they feel when they practise *chadō*? Does *chadō* bring good status or bad status?

1.4 Summary of this research

This thesis aims to analyse class and gender dynamics among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. It explores the various meanings of Urasenke *chadō* for Akita women. This dissertation will develop Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) argument of cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital, and the convertability of this capital, to examine class and gender issues among female *chadō* practitioners. I attempt to examine these dynamics of *chadō* by answering the three questions I proposed above. These research questions will be examined by gathering and combining information attained through a literature review and fieldwork.

I first reviewed the literature in order to establish the background for this study. Social stratification issues for *chadō* practitioners were surveyed by Ōya (1999). She argues that *chadō* can be categorised as what Bourdieu (1984) calls high culture, defined as the taste of the dominant class. Moreover, Ōya (1999) argues that *chadō* has been used for social distinction. Although I agree that *chadō* is a form of high culture and used as a distinction tool, her research was based only on questionnaires included in a Japanese leisure time survey. More importantly, though *chadō* is heavily related to gender dynamics, Ōya's (ibid.) research did not discuss gender differences and gave the impression that *chadō* is gender-neutral (Kato 2004). Thus, her research is not based on a careful exploration of the actual practice of *chadō*.

Kato (2004) discusses the meaning of *chadō* for women practitioners from the Second World War to the present day with in-depth qualitative data based upon her fieldwork in a suburban area in Tokyo. She argues that women practitioners have empowered themselves within the male dominated society of Japan through practising *chadō*. On the other hand, she rarely discusses class conflict among *chadō* practitioners. Class and gender dynamics are tightly interwoven in *chadō* society, but this tight interaction could not be seen in either Ōya's or Kato's analysis. I will consider not only gender issues but also class conflict, especially between practitioners in *chadō*.

Secondly, the research questions in this thesis will be examined through data from my fieldwork from February 2004 to March 2005. My fieldwork was conducted in Akita city and I paid close attention to Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. I conducted participant observation and carried out approximately 36 interviews with Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. My grandmother and mother are Urasenke *chadō* teachers, thus I was able to collect rich data during the year through the help of my grandmother and mother.

Throughout this entire thesis, I have been careful to provide a detailed description of *chadō* and practitioners by paying attention to my senses: what I felt, what I heard, what I saw, what I tasted and what I smelt. Thus, the five senses have been deployed as investigative tools. With the help of my senses, I proceed to examine my class related question in the context of Bourdieu's (1984) idea of cultural

capital. The gender related question will highlight women's roles in Akita society and Urasenke *chadō* and I will also analyse Kato (2004)'s discussion of gender empowerment in *chadō*. A discussion of the final question will introduce personal accounts and conversations with *chadō* practitioners and analyse those, using the earlier frameworks of class and gender.

There are many ethnographic descriptions of metropolitan areas in Japan. Yet much of the literature about Japan neglects the discussion of non-metropolitan areas, particularly the northern part of Japan, including Akita prefecture. Moreover, although there are several debates surrounding *chadō*'s ritual and symbolic meanings (Kondo 1985), and social structure and fictive kinship system (Hsu 1963, 1975), there is not much discussion about many other facts of *chadō*. This thesis sheds light not only on the voices of non-metropolitan women but also on Urasenke *chadō*'s relationship with class and gender issues.

In addition, this thesis provides a substantive contribution to the anthropological methodology and theory discussions. Methodologically, I emphasise an anthropologist's identity work (Coffey 1999) during and after fieldwork. An anthropologist encompasses multiple identities within him or herself and these identities always have to be redefined and reshaped according to informants' perspectives. Moreover, I have contributed to the ethical discussion of having family members not only as gate keepers but also as key informants. In the theoretical arguments, I not only question Bourdieu's (1984) discussion of cultural capital but also his definition of class, and general class discussions in Japan. I argue that his debates of cultural capital in relation to education cannot be readily exported eastwards. Additionally, I explain how *chadō* practitioners understand class and argue that Bourdieu's definition of class and indeed most discussion of class definition in Japanese studies are western, metropolitan and male centred. In the following section, I will show how and when these research questions are answered.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

Chapter Two sets out the main theoretical discussion of this thesis. I will question whether Bourdieu's (1984) cultural theory, including the convertability of capital, and his definition of class are applicable to *chadō* practitioners in Akita city.

Further, I will also examine the applicability of Western and other debates on class to Akita women. In this chapter, Bourdieu's understanding of academic education in terms of class is highlighted through a feminist critique. In this context, Weber's (1958) concept of class and status is also discussed.

Chapter Three presents the methodological rationale for my empirical study. This chapter begins by describing my careful attention to gift-giving expectations and language interpretation from Japanese to English. It then proceeds to explore the implications of using family members as key informants. Finally, I will introduce my development of identity work (Coffey 1999) during my fieldwork with a discussion of Japanese perspectives of private feeling and public behaviour, and power relationships between the researcher and the researched. Identity work is a researcher's ongoing task of amending and redefining his or her whole identity in response to the demands of informants, or perhaps, resisting such demands and reaffirming earlier identities. Whatever direction these processes take, the conflicting demands of past and present expectations can make this work arduous and painful. In this chapter, I also describe the rationale behind including an autobiography in this Introduction chapter.

Chapter Four introduces my first ethnographic discussion. It is focused on the description of *chadō* practitioners' *keiko* (daily practice). This chapter commences with setting out the *chadō* class atmosphere by describing a typical day of *keiko*. By conveying the atmosphere of the classroom, I also take a closer look at teaching style in *chadō*. Further, Edith Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual is discussed. This introduction of *keiko* aims to facilitate the discussion of gender and class in the following chapters.

Chapter Five concentrates on gender dynamics among *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. Based on my participant observation and on interviews with practitioners, I describe how women's roles are distinguished from men's roles not only in Urasenke *chadō* but also in the social structure of Akita city. I further point out that women have a sense of gender empowerment through involvement in *chadō*. I also address how Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual is related to practitioners' empowerment. Through this chapter, I intend to answer my first research question: what does Urasenke *chadō* tell us about women's social standing in Akita city and how does *chadō* improve it?

Chapter Six explores class issues among *chadō* practitioners. Firstly I will investigate how *chadō* practitioners understand class. Then, I will describe how practitioners recognise *chadō* and family background as valuable forms of cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital (Bourdieu 1984). I will further apply Bourdieu's argument of convertability of capital. Through this chapter, I will answer my second research question: What do Urasenke *chadō* practitioners tell us about class discourses and how has *chadō* been used in class dynamics in Akita city?

Chapter Seven draws together the themes of previous chapters and concludes this thesis. I will identify emergent themes from the analyses presented in Chapter Four, Five and Six and answer my final question: What is the meaning of Urasenke *chadō* in women's lives in Akita city? This final question discusses the contextual meaning of *chadō* for practitioners and is answered through tight interaction between class and gender issues. Additionally, I will discuss the theoretical and methodological implications arising from this study.

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the background to my research. I first explained this research motivation through my autobiography and how my research questions were formed. Then, I introduced a summary of my research and the structure of this thesis. In the following chapter I will move on to my main theoretical arguments.

Chapter 2 Theory: Bourdieu's theory of capital and discourses on class

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework of my thesis in order to demonstrate how issues of class and gender are constructed and disseminated among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. I aim to examine Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) theory of capital, including cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital in relation to *chadō* practitioners' gender and class discourses. This is relevant to the discussion of my three research questions: What does Urasenke *chadō* tell us about women's social standing in Akita city and how does *chadō* improve it? What do Urasenke *chadō* practitioners tell us about class discourses and how has Urasenke *chadō* been used in class dynamics in Akita city? What is the meaning of Urasenke *chadō* in women's lives in Akita city?

Ōya (1999) and Kato (2004) are influential researchers who have greatly contributed to the discussion of class and gender dynamics in *chadō* and both of them use Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital (1984, 1986) as an explanatory tool. However, they simply apply Bourdieu's theory to Urasenke *chadō* without being critical of the weakness of his theory. In this chapter, I approach Bourdieu's thinking from a more critical position, and also illuminate the importance of his theory to *chadō*.

Firstly, I will explore Bourdieu's theory and debate its applicability to *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. I will focus on the useful part of Bourdieu's theory for understanding *chadō* by drawing on Ōya (1999) and Kato's (2004) arguments. Secondly, I will explore the reason why some of Bourdieu's discussions are problematic for understanding Urasenke *chadō*. Furthermore, I will also argue that not only Bourdieu's definition of class, but also many of other western concepts of class and class debates in Japanese society are not applicable to *chadō* practitioners' perception of class. Finally, by discussing Weber's (1958) concept of class and status, I will proceed to describe *chadō* practitioners' implicit understanding of class in Akita city.

By combining all these arguments, I will show how Bourdieu's (1984, 1986)

theory of capital is useful for understanding class and gender hierarchy, and its conflict in Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city. At the same time, I will argue that Bourdieu's concept of education in relation to class is not appropriate for an examination of gender and class dynamics of *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. This is largely because the constituents of class are differently combined in Akita city in Japan from Bourdieu's place of study in France. Although Bourdieu explicitly argues that the distinctive phenomenon of cultural capital does not just apply to France and claims that his theory of cultural capital in terms of class is 'valid beyond the particular French case and, no doubt, for every standard society' (Bourdieu 1984: xii), I argue that some of this theory cannot be readily exported to non-western, non-metropolitan women. I will also point out how most western and Japanese debates on class are not applicable to non-western, non-metropolitan *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. I will demonstrate that Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city understand class in terms of economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital but at the same time that they evaluate people's class by emphasising family background and not education.

Ōya (1999) points out that *chadō* as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) has been used for distinctions in social stratification. On the other hand, Kato (2004: 2) states that *chadō* bears a type of Bourdieu's symbolic and cultural capital and thus, it enables women practitioners to empower themselves. According to Kato (2004: 22), *chadō* gives 'consistency and meaning to their lives, which would otherwise seem fragmented and subservient to a male dominant society'. What exactly does this cultural and symbolic capital mean? How can Bourdieu's theory be relevant to Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city?

2.2 Bourdieu

Bourdieu understands social world as the composed of multiple 'fields' (1993: 41-44) structured by the distribution of different forms of capital[9]. For Bourdieu, 'a capital is any resource effective in a given social area that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it' (cited in Wacquant 1998: 221).

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[9] Skeggs points out that mobility requires capital, and that this applies not only to gender movement but also to class movement (1997: 12).

Bourdieu explains cultural capital as having three different forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Embodiment refers to the domestic transmission of cultural heritage. An embodied form consists of 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986: 47); dispositions are ways of looking at the world, ways of talking, walking, gestures, facial expressions and manners (Moi 1999). According to Bourdieu (1986: 48), this embodied form of cultural capital develops from a person's early childhood. It is objectified in an observable form of cultural goods such as paintings, books, pianos, computers/word processors, so forth. Finally, the institutionalized form is significantly embodied in academic qualifications or the title of nobility (Bourdieu 1990: 303). This form of cultural capital has the characteristic to be 'strictly established, legally guaranteed relations between recognized positions, defined by their rank in a relatively autonomous space, distinct from and independent of their actual and potential occupants' (Bourdieu 1990: 131).

Bourdieu argues that a form of knowledge such as good taste in art and music can be one form of cultural capital. This good taste is always defined and controlled by those who have the power: the dominant group. Bourdieu comments that 'taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier' (1984: 6) and it is a constantly shifting marker between and within classes. Bourdieu (1984:56) states that:

> in matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of the taste of others.

Bourdieu (1986: 47-48) also adds that the body, or the embodied form of cultural capital is the most powerful sign of class taste. Class is always coded through bodily dispositions where the body is the most ubiquitous signifier of class.

Bourdieu proposes that if a person acts with decent behaviour, 'proper' speech and knows good taste, he or she would be distinguished from a dominated group and instead be recognised as belonging to the dominant group. 'Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital invokes the existence of a cultural hierarchy which clearly distinguishes "high" culture from "low" or "popular" culture' (Savage 2001: 24).

In this context, Urasenke *chadō* is indeed recognised as the dominant group[10]

[10] I use Bourdieu's term 'dominant group' and 'dominated group': I use and understand the

culture; the high culture in Japan. Dominant culture is recognised as refined taste and dominated culture is marked as low culture or vulgar taste. Not only Western high culture like listening to classical music, playing the violin or piano, but also some Japanese traditional culture, such as practising *chadō*, or going to a *nōh* (classical Japanese dance-drama) play[11] are recognised as high culture in Japan (Ōya 1999: 237). At the other extreme, activities like singing *karaoke* (do-it-yourself vocals), singing and listening to *enka* (traditional Japanese ballads) and popular songs, playing *pachinko* (type of pinball involving gambling) and watching *anime* (cartoons) oriented towards the masses are considered to be low culture. Ōya (1999) further asserts that there is a clear gender distinction in hobby preference in Japan compared with western society and this indeed appears to be true. For instance, *chadō* and *ikebana* (flower arrangement) and playing *koto* (Japanese harp) are generally recognised as women's high culture and acting *nōh* as the form of men's high culture. As a result of this gender distinction in hobbies, husbands tend not to socialise with their wives' friends, and wives tend not to socialise with their husbands' friends. Moreover, a husband and a wife rarely go out together as a couple in informal social life in Akita city.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986) further argues that high culture has the characteristic of being far distanced from the necessity of daily lives. On the other hand, playing *pachinko* as a form of low culture is directly related to necessity: acquiring or losing money. *Chadō* as high culture is irrelevant to instant necessity. Urasenke *chadō* is strongly connected to an idea of separation from mundane life and this idea can be seen in the tea procedures. For instance, practitioners have to purify their hands and mouths before entering a tea house in order to get rid of the perceived dirt from everyday life and that which is related to necessities such as money[12].

Ōya (1999) argues that Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is relevant to *chadō*. I

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former group as upper/upper-middle class and the latter group as the rest of classes, including working-class in Akita city.

[11] *Nōh* is a classical Japanese dance-drama employing highly stylized dances, accompanied by a flute, two or three drums, and dramatic chants.

[12] In terms of this purification, Hendry (1995) points out that Japanese have a clear boundary between purity and impurity and it is related to the argument of Douglas (1966) that 'human preoccupation with dirt and impurities as an indirect way of thinking about the boundaries of society' (cited in Eriksen 2001). Douglas (1966) further argues that body becomes a metaphor for society.

agree with Ōya's (1999) finding that *chadō* as cultural capital has been used as a distinction for social stratification. At Urasenke *chadō* classes, as high culture classes, practitioners acquire refined taste and different forms of cultural capital. As the embodied form of cultural capital, *chadō* practitioners first learn general forms of decent behaviour: they are taught how to greet, sit, stand, and walk properly: for example, on the *tatami* floor, practitioners are taught to walk with small steps and never to step on the *tatami* border (black edge of each mat). Secondly, practitioners are taught the 'proper speech'; they are encouraged to speak slowly and using honorific phrases. There are varieties of polite and honorific phrases and terms in Japanese, which confuse even many adults. Thirdly, practitioners are trained how to pick up served foods and how to eat at the appropriate speed. Finally, practitioners are also trained to recognise good taste in art, especially Japanese calligraphy, architecture, garden design, food, *sake* (Japanese rice wine), *kimono* and tea utensils.

I want to point out further that these embodied forms of cultural capital from *chadō* connect to the idea of middle-class femininity. Liddle (2000: 39) argues that middle-class full-time housewives are recognised as the model for Japanese femininity. These middle-class housewives ideally possess culturally constituted femininity by acquiring gentility, politeness, skill at cooking, skill at arts such as *chadō*, playing *koto* (Japanese harp), and being able to converse in English (Kondo 1990). Practising Urasenke *chadō* is considered an aid to improving middle-class femininity which includes *sahō,* (etiquette and manners) and refined taste. Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city learn how to stand up in a smooth, graceful movement and to bow very elegantly. By observing such 'decent' behaviour and 'proper' speech in the public domain, people who do not have this knowledge perceive a difference. Moreover, practitioners are conscious of the distinction between themselves and those women who speak, walk and act less elegantly than they do. Hence, *chadō* is conceived as a form of cultural capital and middle-class femininity which is used as a tool to differentiate people.

Various objectified forms of cultural capital, the observable form of cultural goods (Bourdieu 1984, 1986) can be seen in *chadō*. In fact, all the things which we see in *chadō* are related to objectified forms of cultural capital. All the utensils for tea procedures are encompassed with this form of cultural capital including tea bowls, tea containers, tea scoops, kettles, water containers, waste water containers and

sweets containers. The place where people practise and enjoy *chadō,* including tea houses and Japanese tea gardens, are also recognised as the objectified form of cultural capital. Additionally, the clothing which practitioners wear for *chadō*, the *kimono* is also considered as a form of cultural capital. These utensils, *kimonos*, tea houses and gardens are recognised as exquisite pieces of art, which can be very old and expensive.

The *kimono* is the Japanese traditional dress and it is considered the most appropriate clothing for *chadō* occasions, thus, practitioners have many opportunities to wear a *kimono*. A *kimono* lasts for a very long time, and is handed down from generation to generation as it is normally made from good quality cloth such as silk, and the size is very adjustable with rope underneath the *obi* (sash). A practitioner sometimes wears her grandmother's *kimono* which is covered with careful hand stitching and this *kimono* can cost over 5,000 GBP. Wearing this kind of *kimono,* a practitioner might often serve *matcha* (green powdered tea) in precious tea bowls, which can be more than two hundred years old, and one single bowl can cost more than 15,000 GBP. Moreover, these prices will increase once the qualities of these utensils are officially recognised by the grand tea master. Practitioners continuously display their objectified forms of cultural capital and use them as the tools to differentiate themselves from other practitioners. Practitioners often make comparisons between themselves and others, thus creating distances and finally establishing distinctions.

Chadō also has the characteristic of being an institutionalized form of cultural capital. '*Temae*, tea procedure is never preserved and transmitted without being institutionalized' (Kato 2004: 39). The *chadō* procedure is only to be transmitted under the strict control of the tea school. The Urasenke institution authorises each tea procedure, and practitioners have to ask for *kyojō* (permission) to practise each tea procedure from the Urasenke institution.[13] Additionally, the Urasenke *chadō* qualifications are legally recognised. By means of this institutionalized form of cultural capital, the *chadō* qualification, female practitioners create markers between themselves and those women who do not have this qualification. Thus, this form of cultural capital[14] is also used as a distinction tool in Akita city.

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[13] See more detailed *kyojō* (permission) system in Appendix D.

[14] Cultural capital is translated as *bunka shihon.* Although my informants did not use the term of *bunka shihon,* they discussed cultural capital by using the term, '*iimono* (good thing, beneficial

Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) discussion on symbolic capital is also relevant to this study. According to him, different forms of capital become the forms of symbolic capital when they are acknowledged and respected in society. He (1984: 291) defines symbolic capital as a 'reputation for competence, respectability and honourability'. As Kato (2004) contends, not only Bourdieu's cultural capital but also symbolic capital is relevant to *chadō*. Kato argues that practitioners acquire cultural capital by learning *temae* (tea procedure), and using utensils, which is an objectified form of cultural capital. By engaging with *chadō*, practitioners in Akita city are assumed by non-practitioners to have acquired greater cultural capital, they become respected by non-practitioners and eventually receive cultural honour and prestige: symbolic capital.

The value of symbolic capital changes according to different fields and in different situations (Bourdieu 1984, 1986). Moi (1999) presents a good example: the value of a well-known philosopher's symbolic capital: honour and prestige, is low among engineers. This is because not many engineers are generally familiar with this well-known philosopher's value of work and thus, they cannot recognise the value of his or her prestige: symbolic capital. However, this symbolic capital is highly esteemed amongst philosophers since they know about this philosopher's valuable work (Moi 1999: 310). Similarly, the value of a *chadō* practitioner's symbolic capital is less in the UK than in Japan. Even in Japan, this value will be smaller among a kindergarten group than in a PTA[15] group. This is because many British people and Japanese kindergarten children will not know that *chadō* is related to cultural capital in Japan. Moreover, the value of this symbolic capital is less among *chadō* practitioners, since all of them have the same symbolic capital. However, its significance increases among working-class women in Akita city since not many of them have acquired cultural honour and prestige from *chadō*.

Chadō practitioners indeed acquire not only cultural capital but also symbolic capital. As I described in my autobiography, my grandmother was very proud of herself for being featured in the local newspaper as a *chadō sensei* (teacher) in Akita city. She said, 'I am not an ordinary grandma, I am a prestigious *chadō sensei* in Akita city'. She seemed to think that she had achieved honour: symbolic

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thing)'.

[15] Parent Teacher Association

capital resulting from the great cultural capital acquired from *chadō*. She appeared to gain confidence from the fact that not many women in Akita city could acquire her level of *chadō* knowledge: embodied form of cultural capital, tea utensils: objectified form of cultural capital, and *chadō* qualification: institutionalized form of cultural capital. Additionally, my grandmother appeared to be well aware that the value of symbolic capital derived from *chadō* was highly regarded amongst the general public in Akita city.

Turning now to social capital, Bourdieu (1984, 1986), as mentioned earlier, understands society in terms of the distribution of different forms of capital. Social capital is one such form. This, according to Bourdieu, is the extent of one's economically, culturally or politically useful contact base, acquired via one's 'social networks and who you know, group memberships and connections generated through networks of relationships' (cited in Liddle 2000: 28).

Bourdieu (1996) describes how great bourgeois families reproduce their social standing by relying on extensive networks, social capital. These bourgeois families maintain their power across the whole social field through their family members who are perhaps powerful medical doctors, bankers, politicians, artists, writers or professors. Bourdieu emphasises that this extensive network, or social capital, was the reason that even a revolution did not cause serious damage to great bourgeois families' fortunes. This phenomenon can also be seen in *chadō*. Many *chadō* practitioners from the upper-class in Akita city reaccumulate and maintain their economic, cultural and symbolic capital through their extensive network. More importantly, *chadō* has become one of the important places for Akita women to acquire extensive networks through the wives of leading professionals in the city.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986) emphasises that many forms of capital can be converted into many other different types of capital: economic capital into cultural capital, or social capital into symbolic capital and vice versa. More importantly, Bourdieu argues that through conversion of capital, people 'maintain or improve their position in the class structure' (1984: 125). For instance, social capital can be converted into symbolic capital: a network of contacts improves one's opportunities for achieving legitimacy. It is also possible to convert economic capital into symbolic capital. Economic capital refers to economic resources,

which includes income, monetary assets and financial inheritance (Bourdieu 1984: 114-115). According to Bourdieu, aristocratic titles may sometimes be purchased in France. Eriksen (2001:154) explains this conversion of capital phenomenon as follows:

> Although there is usually a clear connection between economic and symbolic capital, the two are not congruent: some have much of the former but little of the latter, and vice versa. This is why conversion may be an interesting strategy for actors who wish to increase their prestige. Whether the chief form of conversion follows one direction or the other depends, of course, on the dominant value system in society.

Kato (2004) and Ōya (1999) do not really discuss the phenomenon of conversion of capital in *chadō*. However, I argue that there are various examples of conversion of capital in *chadō* in Akita city, and this has been used for improving or maintaining practitioners' class and gender position.

As I discussed earlier in my grandmother's case, her cultural capital from *chadō* was converted and transformed into her symbolic capital in Akita city. However, I want to point out that people do not necessarily need to have cultural capital in order to acquire symbolic capital. As Bourdieu highlights, some people can purchase symbolic capital: people can convert economic capital into symbolic capital. Some *chadō* practitioners just pay for *chadō* lessons in order to acquire symbolic capital. It has been assumed by society that if a person attends *chadō* classes, he or she will acquire a certain amount of cultural capital by learning graceful body movements, and knowledge about tea utensils, painting and calligraphy. Therefore, a person who attends *chadō* classes will accumulate symbolic capital since society assumes that he or she has acquired the appropriate amount of cultural capital. Some people in Akita city are aware of this assumption in society and they simply buy *chadō* lessons without the great effort of studying *chadō,* and get it converted into symbolic capital.

I will further argue that symbolic capital can be converted into economic capital. Whether a female practitioner really acquires the cultural capital or not, it will be assumed that she has obtained a certain amount of cultural capital by attending *chadō* classes, and thus, she has cultural prestige. Because of this cultural reputation, she has Anbotter chance of marrying a man in a good social position, and eventually will be able to acquire economic capital from her husband's income and family assets. There is a phrase that taking *chadō* lessons is for the

'*hanayome shugyō*' (bridal training) in order to acquire good status so that she can marry a man of decent social position. Some Akita women seem to improve or maintain their position in the class structure by investing in *chadō* class lessons. Kato (2004) note that the phenomenon of '*hanayome shugyō*' is no longer as common as it was in my mother's generation, but it has not yet disappeared from Akita city.

This example of '*hanayome shugyō*' illustrates the argument that femininity as cultural or symbolic capital can be converted into economic capital. Based on the qualitative research of working-class women in the UK, Skeggs (1997) argues that femininity as cultural capital can be converted into the form of symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu, in the conversion of capital to symbolic capital, legitimation is the key. Thus in this case, I would argue that femininity is legitimated from men's perspective and becomes symbolic capital. However, I would claim that 'femininity as symbolic capital' (Skeggs 1997) falls short of the full potential for convertability of capital in *chadō*. As I described above, *chadō* is recognised as an important element of *'hanayome shugyō'*, which cultivates middle-class femininity as a means to improving marriage prospects. I therefore argue that, in Akita city, femininity acquired through *chadō* can be converted from cultural and symbolic to economic capital.

Additionally, while the value of Urasenke *chadō* lessons is not exactly an academic education, it is equivalent to an academic education for most female practitioners in the eyes of men in Akita city. Following Bourdieu's argument, Akita men can convert their institutionalized cultural capital, academic diplomas into economic capital, and have an improved chance to obtain to jobs with Anbotter income. In the same vein, some Akita women can convert *chadō* from their cultural capital or symbolic capital into economic capital, as they have improved opportunities to marry men from the dominant class with good income.

The phenomenon of conversion of capital is apparent even when female practitioners get married. These women convert economic capital: pay for *chadō* lessons, into cultural capital through serious *benkyō* (study) of *chadō*. By acquiring *chadō* as cultural capital, middle-class housewives have a sense of gender empowerment. According to Kato (ibid.), this empowerment through *chadō* is related to the notion that *chadō* is *sogō-bunka* (composite art form), a

cultural activity that comprehends '"every" traditional, Japanese cultural domain' (2004: 5). Kato explains that *benkyō* (studying) of *chadō* often empowers women in two ways. First, accumulating knowledge puts women on an equal footing with their male family members who have academic qualifications. Second, through studying the ancestors of *chadō* and through physical and discursive *chadō* practice, women represent tradition and obtain the authority with which the tradition provides them (ibid.). For instance, Sen Rikyu, the grand tea master who established Urasenke *chadō* in the sixteenth century has been recognised as the ancestor of *chadō*. He is known for having great authority and influence not only on *chadō* but also on Japanese culture and politics. According to Kato (ibid.), practitioners feel that by engaging with Sen Rikyu through *chadō*, they also acquire authority and have a sense of empowerment in contemporary society. 'Thus, they can equilibrate themselves with their male family members, who have economic and educational powers but do not have the same authority as they obtain from their performance of the tea ceremony' (ibid). What happens to practitioners who fail to marry and thus fail to acquire economic capital by marriage? These women perceive that they can still have economic empowerment by converting cultural capital, *chadō*, into economic capital: earning money by teaching *chadō*. I shall elaborate on, and illustrate conversion of capital among *chadō* practitioners in Chapter Five and Six.

There are several criticisms of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and cultural hierarchy. For instance, Savage (2001) criticises Bourdieu's cultural hierarchy debates on high culture and low culture; he comments that 'many people move between cultural practices with greater ease than Bourdieu's arguments imply' (2001: 108). Moreover, Peterson and Kern (1996) refer to 'the emergence of the cultural omnivore whose taste crosses cultural divides, so that some people may appreciate opera as well as country and western music' (cited in Savage 2001: 108). However, in Japan it appears that this emergence of the cultural omnivore occurs only among the dominant groups which alone have access to both high and low cultures, whereas the dominated group has little access to high culture. Thus, in the case of Japanese culture, Bourdieu's argument on cultural capital and its hierarchy is still valid. In fact, this debate explains how most *chadō* practitioners use *chadō* as a tool to show distinction from other women in Akita city. Bourdieu is especially good at defining cultural capital in an insightful way, and his understanding of cultural hierarchy provides us with a particularly useful set of

tools for interpreting the complex concepts of class and gender hierarchy. Therefore, I want to assert here that his theory of cultural capital and its convertibility is extremely useful for understanding the class and gender dynamics among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. By applying Bourdieu's theory to *chadō* in Akita city, we are able to see how *chadō* practitioners differentiate themselves from other people by expressing their new identity within the dominant group or consolidate their existing identity within the dominant group.

2.3 Criticism of Bourdieu

Within the discussion on the convertibility of capital, Bourdieu (1984, 1986) argues that academic education is recognised as valuable cultural capital to improve or reproduce the class hierarchy. He (1986: 243) points out that economic capital is converted into the cultural capital of academic education: 'economic capital is "cashed in" to obtain cultural capital' (cited in Jenkins 1992: 140). Bourdieu (1984: 125) states that these strategies have been accelerated and the result is the 'diploma inflation' phenomenon in society. He also noted that this conversion of capital is fluid in the middle reaches of the system, the petite bourgeoisie in French society (1984: 142, 1988). Bourdieu claims that they are the people 'who are the autodidacts, the anti-intellectual small shopkeepers and the upwardly mobile managers who defer their own social and cultural gratification in an investment strategy aimed at securing a bourgeois future for their children' (cited Jenkins 1992:144). Bourdieu also discusses how this cultural capital of academic education can be converted into economic capital. Educational qualifications can be converted into the wages of high-qualification jobs (Bourdieu 1987: 4).

Bourdieu (1984: 133-134) maintains that the significance of higher education for women is not primarily as a training for marriage. Indeed, many women do not choose home economics or similar domestic subjects. Rather, the importance of attending such institutions is that they convey middle-class status and cultural values, and thus the potential wife's ability to maintain, reproduce and enhance family's social position for the future. In terms of Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1987) discussion of women's academic education, Lovell (2000) also emphasises that education is recognised as valuable symbolic capital among British middle-class women. Similarly to Bourdieu, Lovell (2000: 26-28) points out that women's

higher education was first promoted as a necessary symbolic capital for a good marriage. However, Lovell (ibid.) goes on to explain that higher education was gradually recognised as a valuable symbolic capital by women themselves as a pathway to a career of their own. Thus, Lovell (ibid.) argues that academic education as cultural capital can be converted into economic or symbolic capital and that eventually academic education becomes a tool to improve or reproduce women's social position. Consequently, Bourdieu and Lovell (2000) emphasise the value of academic education for class mobility among middle-class women.

By contrast, I argue that in Akita city, academic education[16] for some women of the middle-class and above is not necessarily recognised as a valuable form of cultural capital and consequently, education is not often converted to other forms of capital. This is because these women are expected to marry men who have a good social position[17] and some of these avoid women who have high-level academic degrees. In Akita city, middle-class woman's *shiawase* (happiness) is believed to be centred on marrying a man who is a good match, having a family and staying at home (Handa 2005, Takamine 2005, Yamada 2005). A man from a dominant class and his family tend to avoid a woman who has a high-level academic degree. There is even a phrase that says '*gakureki ga aruhito wa kemutagareru*': a woman who has academic degrees tends to be avoided like smoke. Some families believe that an educated woman tends to be too independent and unwilling to follow a husband's family precepts.

Thus, even though some girls of middle-class and above in Akita area have the ability to go to four-year-college, they are encouraged to attend *tandai* (two-year-colleges) or rather complete their studies at their high school level. Andressesn and Gainer (2002:164) describe *tandai*:

> many junior colleges (two-year-colleges) are all-girls schools and are widely considered to be "breeding" grounds for marriage, thus they learn female etiquette

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16 'The post-war Japanese education system is patterned on the American model. At the age of six children enter primary school, which has six grades. They then proceed to middle school, which comprises three years; completing it is mandatory. More than nine out of ten students complete twelve years of schooling, making high-school education virtually semi-mandatory. Beyond this level, four-year universities and two-year junior colleges operate as institutions of higher education in Japan' (Sugimoto 2003: 107).

17 Most Urasenke *chadō* practitioners perceive that this man should have a four-year-college degree with good family background and engaged in an occupation such as government officer, medical doctor, lawyer or university lecturer/professor.

and (home) economics or arts. Over ninety percent of *tandai* students are female.

Sugimoto (2003) adds:

> *tandai* students have little academic motivation and many of them regard their time in these institutions as a phase between high school and marriage. Though *tandai* are classified as academic institutions, most of them are private and similar to vocational schools in their educational substance, with much emphasis placed upon training for home-making and domestic science.

According to the gender survey by The Gender Division in Akita Prefectural Government (2004:6), in 2002 in Akita city, only 7.2 percent and 11.5 percent of women between 20-50 years old went to four-year-colleges and *tandai* (two-year-college)[18]. By contrast, 14.2 percent and 11.0 percent of women between 20-50 years old went to four-year-college and *tandai* in 2002 in Yokohama city, one of the metropolitan areas in Japan. In fact, this low rate of four-year-college degrees for women in Akita city seems to be the reason that the phenomenon of conversion of capital from cultural capital (studying *chadō*) into economic capital (earning money by teaching *chadō* is common among *chadō* practitioners) is apparent. Four-year-college degrees are not required to become *chadō sensei* (teacher). Thus, this occupation as *chadō sensei* is suitable for women who do not have a high degree in Akita city.

Moi (1999) makes it very explicit that Bourdieu's theory of academic education only works where academic education is highly appreciated, as in France. I argue that academic education is not recognised as a valuable form of capital for most female practitioners in Akita city. Bourdieu's understanding of academic education in terms of conversion of capital and class mobility seems to be unrelated to these women in Akita city. Unlike Bourdieu and Lovell's (2000) discussion, *chadō* practitioners do not reproduce or upgrade their social position by academic education. Why is this? Why cannot Bourdieu's theory of academic education as cultural capital be applied to *chadō* practitioners? The fundamental reason for this is that Bourdieu's definition of class is not relevant to female practitioners in Akita city. Class for these practitioners is not related to academic education. This discussion will be elaborated in the following section, which also incorporates the concept of class according to Bourdieu.

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[18] See more details of education statistics in Chapter Five.

2.4 Bourdieu's definition of class and its relevance to Akita *chadō* practitioners

'Bourdieu understood class in terms of social relations, he conceptualises class divisions as differing conditions of existence, systems of dispositions produced by those conditions and different endowments of capitals' (cited in Liddle 2003: 183). According to Savage (2001:107), Bourdieu's argument leads 'toward class as implicit, as encoded in people's sense of self-worth and in their attitudes to and awareness of others'.

Bourdieu (1984) considers several elements such as 'life-style' and 'education' when he examines class. Although I agree with his consideration of life-style, I disagree with his treatment of education for class analysis; his way of thinking of education is male centred when we try to apply it to the educational status of most *chadō* practitioners in Akita city, who are upper or middle-class non-metropolitan women.

First of all, Bourdieu conceives of life-style in terms of class. I perceive that this life-style is something similar to what people do for a hobby, how often they go out for dinner, how much money they spend on vacations and where they go on vacations. This interpretation of life-style has been used as one of the useful measurements for defining class by *chadō* practitioners. This is because they often do not engage in the labour market, but pursue a different life-course. On the other hand, Jenkins (1992) criticises Bourdieu's definition of life-style and the relationship between that and class. Jenkins argues that Bourdieu uses proxy factors such as the occupation of the person's father, as well as his or her education, income and age in order to define life-style. The problem is that the first three of these, the father's occupation, his or her education and income, are all systematically related to normative discussions of class. Therefore, Jenkins argues that 'there is an apparent relationship to class, but what it means is uncertain, since the procedure has become a little circular and self-confirming' (Jenkins 2003: Personal Communication). However, what I perceive as the concept of life-style in Bourdieu's *Distinction* is different from Jenkins' perception. It appears to me that Bourdieu describes the detailed content of life-style, such as what kind of house they live in, what kind of furniture they use, which sport they play or are interested in, what kind of magazines or books they

read, or what type of gifts they give. If this interpretation is valid, Bourdieu's concept of life-style as the indicator of class is applicable to the Urasenke *chadō* practitioners' situation.

Bourdieu measures education level by academic title, or number of years attended at educational institutions and he emphasises that this parallels status and class level. These arguments may apply to metropolitan areas in Japan. Miyajima and Tanaka (1984) studied the educational aspirations of high-school girls in Tokyo in 1980s. They argued that the upper-middle or middle-class families' daughters tend to go to four-year-colleges, while lower middle class or working class family's daughters tend to go to *tandai* (two-year colleges), or to end their education after completing high school. However, Bourdieu's concept of educational level does not smoothly parallel the class level for women in non-metropolitan areas like Akita city. As mentioned in the previous section, academic education for female practitioners, who are mostly middle-class and above, is not necessarily recognised as a valuable form of cultural capital.

Another concern is the quality of some four-year-colleges in Japan, especially private four-year-colleges for girls called '*ojyōsama daigaku*'. '*Ojyōsama daigaku*' is literally translated as a 'four-year-college for young ladies.' Although, these colleges are officially recognised as four-year-colleges, their curriculum and college related activities are focused to a large extent on women acquiring etiquette and manners. Okada (2005) argue that these *ojyōsama daigaku* are just an extension of *tandai* (two-year-college), the '"breeding" grounds for marriage' (Andressesn and Gainer 2002: 164). If we consider the content of the studies in *ojyōsama daigaku,* it is debatable whether we can simply accept that these college degrees accord with Bourdieu's standard of four-year-college degree. This is a significant issue, since in this study, one third of the informants, who held four-year-college degrees had graduated from *ojyōsama daigaku*[19]. Since Bourdieu defines class as related to education, and his concept of education does not relate entirely to *chadō* practitioners in Akita, Bourdieu's concept of class does not effectively apply to them.

Indeed, some feminist scholars including Moi (1999) criticise Bourdieu's (1984, 2001) theory and his perspective. Moi (1999) points out that Bourdieu gave

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[19] See more details in Appendix B Informants' background.

serious consideration to the person's father's occupation but not the mother's occupation[20]. Lovell (2000, 2004), Liddle (2000) and Skeggs (2004, 2005) criticise Bourdieu for seeing women only as objects. Lovell (2004: 50) asserts that similarly to Levi-Strauss (1969), Bourdieu (2001: 101) recognises 'women as cultural objects in the exchange of the marriage market', with no perceived capital or value in their own right, but simply as symbols of accumulated family capital. Bourdieu argues that 'it is the women's role to convert economic capital into symbolic capital for their families through the display of taste' (cited in Skeggs 2005: 28). However, Lovell (2000: 21) points out, 'it must remain questionable whether women universally and exclusively position themselves as objects, and indeed whether it is even possible to do so unequivocally'.

If Bourdieu (1984, 1986) looked at women as subjects, he would be able to see women from a different angle and would be able to hear women's struggle and would explore deeper into the power relations in a society. If we look at women as objects, we are only able to see the family's point of view. For instance, some families in Akita take marriage seriously because they prefer a daughter to remain in their local area. They prefer a daughter to marry a local man, so that this local marriage strengthens the local family power base through the formation of tighter family bonds and daughters can look after them once they get older[21]. Some parents in the Akita areAnbolieve that higher education will lead to career aspirations for their daughters, carrying the risk of the daughter leaving the town and marrying into a distant family in Japan, going abroad or remaining single[22]. Therefore, some daughters are encouraged not to pursue four-year-college degrees.

On the other hand, if we look at women as subjects, we are also able to see the women's point of view. Many middle or upper-class women also consider

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[20] Lovell (2004: 39) further points out that 'feminist sociologists had mounted an extensive critique of sociological methods that measured social class in terms of the occupational status of "head of household", presumptively male'.

[21] Sugimoto (2003: 59) argues that custom and culture are different between eastern and western Japan and he points out that there is higher likelihood of older people being looked after and living together with one of their children in eastern Japan (Akita city is located in eastern Japan) than western Japan.

[22] A similar phenomenon also occurred during the Taishō period (1912-1926) among farmers. Hirota (2004) argues that the first sons of farmers were not encouraged to have high-level academic qualifications due to the belief that they would not come back to villages to become farmers.

marriage seriously with their families. The act of marrying a man from the middle or upper-class with good income brings financial profit and stability to a woman. This is because, as most middle or upper-class women are not encouraged to work, they have to rely on their husbands' income and this becomes their main source of economic capital. The majority of women in Akita consider marriage seriously as a life-long commitment since they know divorces and remarriages are rare in the Akita area compared to the metropolitan areas in Japan. According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the average divorce rate in 2002 was 2.3 percent in Japan and 1.89 percent in the Akita Prefecture. Akita's divorce rate is the 39th lowest out of 47 prefectures in Japan (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2002). Akita women seem to assume that marriage is a once in a lifetime event and they know that their amount of economic capital is heavily dependent on this marriage. Most middle-class women in Akita area accept that marriage should last until they die and therefore the phrase that a marriage is a woman's '*shūshinkoyō* (lifetime employment)'[23] can still be heard in Akita city. This is why these women themselves also take marriage very seriously. This discussion of marriage is further elaborated with my empirical data in Chapter Six.

Consequently, I agree with these feminist critiques of Bourdieu. It appears that he does not pay sufficient attention to women: he does not examine carefully the relationship between women's class and academic education in his argument about capital and class. So far, we have tried to see why Bourdieu's concept of academic education in terms of class is not applicable to *chadō* practitioners and it appears that Bourdieu's definition of class is not applicable to my informants. In fact, most discussion of the western concepts of class and class in Japanese society are not entirely relevant to *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. Class is not a universal homogenous category but rather is constructed from different building blocks in western and non-western societies, and even metropolitan and non-metropolitan societies. In the light of this, how do *chadō* practitioners in Akita city understand class?

In the following section, I will first focus on western definitions of class and normative definitions of class in the study of Japanese society. I will argue that all these discussions are western male and metropolitan oriented conceptions which

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[23] This phrase is derived from the life-long employment system in Japanese companies. Although this system has been common, it is increasingly under threat (Takamine 2005)

are not necessarily applicable to the informants in this study. Secondly, I will discuss how *chadō* practitioners define their class and will discuss the way in which they understand class in terms of economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital: most practitioners understand class in relation to family background and not academic education.

2.5 Discourses on class

Sugimoto (2003) and Hashimoto (2003) argue that class in Japan is generally defined in terms of occupation, employment status and income, and this way of measurement has come from western society. It has been said that the level of income and occupation are generally related and lead to distinctions of class: for instance, a blue-collar worker earns less money than a lawyer and the former is categorised as the lower class than the latter. However, Sugimoto (2003) and Hashimoto (2003) also point out that the level of income and occupation often do not correlate and this leads to difference in understandings of class in Japan as compared to western society.[24] I agree with Sugimoto (2003) and Hashimoto's (2003) arguments. In terms of income alone, for example, if we simply apply the amount of income of *chadō* teachers, they sometimes have to be recognised as part of the lower class due to their lower income. The fact is, however, that the majority of teachers of a traditional culture, such as *chadō* teachers, belong to middle-class and above[25]. Therefore, in the case of a Japanese traditional art teacher, the common definition of class does not easily apply to *chadō* practitioners.

However, it is true that even some western sociologists and anthropologists criticise the use of the common definition of class, which emphasises occupation, employment status and income as its main criteria. For instance, Kate Fox (2005) describes the definition of class in England and argues that class is no longer defined by wealth and occupation, but rather, it has been defined by 'taste, behaviour, judgement and interaction' (Fox 2005: 406); which is 'speech, manner, taste, and life-style choices' (ibid.). On the other hand, Finch (1993) discusses the social categorization in the UK and examined how 'working-class as a category

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[24] Of course, this problem also applies in Western society such as in the case of academic lecturers or professors. However, Sugimoto (2003) and Hashimoto (2003) assert that these contradictions are more apparent in Japan than western society.

[25] This can be because of their cultural taste and financial background acquired from their family.

came into effect through middle-class conceptualizations' (cited in Skeggs 1997: 10). Finch (ibid.) also argues that the British define class with less emphasis on economic capital. Finch (1993: 10) comments:

> The range of chosen concerns through which middle-class observers made sense of the observed, included references to: living room condition, drinking behaviour, language (including both the type of things which were spoken about, and the manner in which they were referred to –literally the types of words used); and children's behaviour. These were moral, not economic, references.

I agree that life-style is important for defining class. As I described before, practitioners use the concept of life-style as an appropriate measurement to understand class. However, I do not think that Fox (2005) and Finch's (1993) findings regarding wealth are applicable to my informants. My ethnographic data shows that for *chadō* practitioners, economic capital is the fundamental criterion for discussing class in Akita city. Then, how do Japanese define class in Japanese society?

Class is generally translated as *kaikyū*. Sugimoto (2003) points out, not many people use the term *kaikyū* in their daily conversation. However, it does not mean that Japanese society does not have the concept of class. There are many discussions regarding class and indeed, such discussions increased after the collapse of the bubble economy in early 1990s in Japan (Hashimoto 2003: 37).

Murakami(1977: 7) for instance argued that ninety percent of the population identified themselves as middle-class. This was because the post-war miracle produced a large middle stratum homogeneous in life-style, speech, attitudes, dress and other status dimensions. Throughout Japan's high economic growth periods, living standards have risen, income disparities have been reduced, and the distinction between blue and white collar worker has become blurred (Hashimoto 2003: 29). On the other hand, Kishimoto (1978) distinguishes the middle-class as the relatively few people with the enough assets in the form of disposable property or savings to can support themselves through difficult times. These are beyond the means of the majority of the population. Tominaga (1979) disagrees with Murakami (1977) and Kishimoto's (1978) arguments and states that 'many Japanese consider themselves to be "middle" ultimately an issue of a "status identification" rather than their objective social/economic position' (Hashimoto 2003: 28). Ishida (1993) argues that 'Japan is not significantly more open or

closed to class mobility than the UK or the USA and casting doubt on both the new middle-mass thesis and the idea that class is not relevant to Japan' (cited in Liddle 2000: 165). Ishida (1993) disputes both this middle-mass thesis and the notion that class is not relevant to Japan, arguing that class mobility in Japan is different from the UK or the USA.

As I described, there are many discussions about class and we can see that there may be useful class debates in relation to the status and life-style of *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. However, it appears that many of the class debates in Japan are male centred and indeed, their methodology is male oriented. Hashimoto (2003) points out that many of the class debates in Japan use data from the Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) survey[26]. It has been conducted every ten years since 1955, interviewing random samples of Japanese male residents aged between 20 and 69 years and 'unemployed, retired, househusbands, all others who were not actively in the labour force are excluded' (Ishida 1993). It therefore does not apply to *chadō* practitioners who are female and housewives with retired husbands. Not until 1995 did the survey first cover both men and women within the same sampling frame and using the same questionnaire (Hashimoto 2003: 87).

Although Hashimoto (2003) identifies this male orientation in Japanese class discussion and further devotes his attention to the class definition of housewives, his fundamental analysis still seems to be male oriented. For instance, he firstly defines a woman's class by her salary and occupation status (a simple clerical worker status or a manager status in her company) and he categorises many women as being in the working-class. However, Hashimoto has to reconsider the fact that the majority of women are only offered clerical workers' positions even if they graduated from relatively top level four-year-colleges in the metropolitan area. It appears that many of these women are not from the working-class and should not be categorised as working-class women.

Since many class debates in Japan are oriented towards men, they do not apply to *chadō* practitioners in Akita city, most of whom are women. Moreover, I would argue that most of the class debates in Japan are based on the ethnographic gatherings from metropolitan areas and their discussion of class is also not

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[26] This includes the works of Tominaga (1979), Imada and Hara (1979) and Ishida (1993).

applicable to *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. This is because women's life-courses and expectations in metropolitan areas are slightly different from those of women in Akita area.

Liddle (2000:4) examines the fusion of gender and class by using Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and argues that class is crucial to understanding the production of gender relations in Japan. She argues that Japan has not succeeded in creating a classless society. With her rich qualitative data gathered from a metropolitan area, Liddle (2000: 205) emphasises that class is crucial to women's access to power in a modern society. However, Liddle's description of class in relation to the professional career of women is a metropolitan view and difficult to apply to a non-metropolitan area. Women in metropolitan areas have more chances to work because of the increased job opportunities and more liberal attitudes towards women's work than in Akita. At the same time, Liddle (2000: 234), just as Bourdieu, argues that higher education has been used as a tool to reproduce the class distinction. On the other hand, as pointed out before, some middle-class women in Akita do not conform to this description. There are fewer higher education institutions in Akita area and they simply do not acquire a high-level education like many women in the metropolitan areas.

Yoder (2004) describes youth deviance in the Kanagawa prefecture (next to Tokyo) and argues that there is a clear class conflict and reproduction of class in Japanese society. Yoder also points out that the official figures for youth crime is much higher in working-class areas than in the middle and upper-class areas in his fieldwork site. Additionally, through interviewing mothers and their children during his fieldwork, he emphasises that class is socially produced and maintained through academic education and class endogamy (marrying within the same class). Again, academic education for both genders is highlighted here and this may be because there are many academic educational institutions in metropolitan areas. Moreover, most women's social expectations in metropolitan areas are different from those in the Akita area, where society is less open to women's involvement in the labour market and to academic education. Women in metropolitan areas may rarely hear the phrase of '*gakureki ga aruhito wa kemutagareru*': a woman who has academic degrees tends to be avoided like smoke. Thus, the majority of debates about class in Japan are focused only on metropolitan areas and it is difficult to apply these definitions of class to Akita Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. I

shall now, therefore, examine the concept of class as understood by women in one non-metropolitan Japanese city.

2.6 Urasenke's *chadō* practitioners' discussions on class

2.6.1 Economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital

Chadō practitioners in Akita city tend to discuss class by taking into account all the factors, including economic, culture, symbolic and social capital. First of all, economic capital is central to my informants' discussions of class. Although Fox (2005) and Finch (1993) insist that in the UK class is no longer discussed simply in terms of economic capital, this capital seems to be one of the central topics to be discussed in class debates among practitioners in Akita city. Economic capital is considered in terms of income or their husband's income, real estate and financial assets[27]. Cultural capital is also considered when discussing class. This includes embodied, objectified and some institutionalized forms of cultural capital, but does not necessarily relate to academic institutionalized forms of cultural capital. Cultural capital will be related to a discussion of *chadō* skill and mostly family background. Symbolic capital, especially the prestige and honour of the family name, is also a key criterion to define class for *chadō* practitioners. Although social capital has not been discussed as often as other forms of capital, it is also relevant to practitioners' understanding of class. These discussions will be further explored with my ethnographic examples in Chapter Six.

The following subsection includes a discussion on the importance of the family background. This aspect is particularly important as it is family background and not academic education that is considered the more significant contributor to cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. What then is so special about family background?

2.6.2 Emphasis on family background

It appears that family background is the most important factor that provides

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[27] Sugimoto states that economic resources can be classified into two types. 'On one hand, income such as salaries and wages. On the other hand, a variety of assets such as houses and land and movable assets such as shares, bonds, and golf club membership rights' (Sugimoto 2003: 40).

different types of capital in Akita city, and in particular these family backgrounds are related to a female practitioner's natal family and her husband's family.

From an economic perspective, a female practitioner's natal family and husband's family can often provide considerable financial support through their 'variety of assets such as houses and land and movable assets such as shares, bonds and golf membership rights' (Sugimoto 2003: 40). From a cultural perspective, some practitioners, especially those from old elite families, possess many forms of cultural capital. 'Embodied' forms of cultural capital could be knowledge of good taste, 'refined speech' and decent behaviour, while 'objectified' forms of cultural capital include utensils and *kimonos*. Some family backgrounds also offer honour and prestige, derived from family name. Additionally, social capital is represented by the business network, and the useful social connections for acquiring other forms of capital are provided by family background.

Hashimoto (2003) and Sugimoto (2003) describe the significance of family background in reflecting class hierarchy in Japanese society. Hashimoto (2003:213) points out that:

> inherited capital can be invested, while an inherited house or land can free up other money for investment purposes. This applies also to assets and educational expenses which are gifted inter vivo. Thus, inheritance provides an advantage in the accumulation of capital and assets, producing other, indirect forms of economic inequality.

Sugimoto comments that while 'occupation and education are the most visible factors that perpetuate inequality intergenerationally across social classes, assets handed down from one generation to another have invisible consequences for the continuity of interclass barriers' (2003: 44).

Family[28] has significant meanings for the Japanese, and parents and children are more dependent on each other than in some Western societies[29]. As Hendry (1981:

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[28] Family can be translated as '*ie*' and many anthropologists emphasise the concept of '*ie*' (Hendry 1981). However, *'ie'* place more emphasis on the patrilinial side. On the other hand, I want to emphasise both sides of the family: a woman's natal family and her husband's family. Therefore, the term 'family' will be used rather than '*ie*'.

[29] 'The importance of the relationship between parents and children is illustrated in the way it has been used as a model for many other relationships in society (*oyabun-kobun*), so that similar obligations of aid and indebtedness are created between master and pupil, employer and employee, landowner and tenant, as well as in patron-client links of business, politics and even underworld activities' (Hendry 1981: 93).

92) points out, 'the care parents give their children incurs in the latter a debt known as *on,* which bonds them not only to care for their parents for the rest of their lives, but also to afford their own children the same attentions they have received'. Consequently, it is common for several generations to live together even when a child grows up, and a child is expected to take care of his or her parents when they get older. By living together in the same house and land, it is not unusual for children to inherit their parents' houses and lands. Shimono (1992) describes how it is to have asset inheritance and how this will lead to the reproduction of inequality in society. For instance, 44.5 percent of a person's total assets in Japan are acquired through inheritance (Tachibanaki 1998: 145).

There are two main reasons why family background is a core factor in class discussion among *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. The first reason is significantly related to the characteristic of Akita city. As introduced briefly in the previous chapter, Akita city has few internal immigrants from beyond Akita prefecture because of poor job opportunities and fewer choices in Akita area (Bandō 2002). Therefore, as Yamada (2005) argues, many Akita residents have lived in Akita area for many generations and they are familiar with other Akita residents' family backgrounds and family histories. Akita residents are able to recognise the symbolic capital or cultural capital of practitioners who come from an old elite family in Akita area. Thus, people from an old elite family can use their symbolic capital or their cultural capital to distinguish themselves from the rest of the residents in Akita city. Although I have pointed out that Akita city does not have many immigrants from outside its prefecture, it has considerable numbers of immigrants from other cities and towns within Akita prefecture (Mock 2005). However, because of Akita's rich and close social network, Akita residents, especially *chadō* practitioners[30] tend not to have difficulties in finding out about other people's family background.

Because of these circumstances, Akita seems to have clearer class distinctions than the metropolitan areas (Yamada 2005)[31]. According to Yamada (2005), upper-class people are comfortable living in Akita with their old elite family backgrounds and histories. Their business and social lives are very organised,

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[30] Because many practitioners are middle or upper-class and they tend to have a large social network.

[31] Sugimoto (2003: 34) notes that Kyoto tends to have a strong sense of class inequality as indicated by the total votes for the communist party compared to other metropolitan areas.

secured through social capital, a good network, and they are securely located as upper-class by their old elite family background. Middle-class people especially young people who do not have a particular old elite family background, but have a bright brain and liberal mind, tend to leave Akita and embrace the challenge of a metropolitan area. Middle-class people know that there is a limited chance for them to obtain an upper position in Akita's society. This is because upper-class people still control the business and social network. This is why some young people who go to four-year-college in other cities like Tokyo, Kanagawa or Osaka decide to stay there for better job opportunities and choices. Yamada (2005) asserts that working-class people seem to recognise this class inequality but since they do not have higher educational qualifications and family assets, they have no means to relocate to a metropolitan area and so end up staying in AkitAnbocause of the low social mobility (Handa 2005, Yamada 2005) and the disappearance of a liberal minded middle-class, Akita area seems to be more conservative, and a good family history is considerably more significant than in metropolitan areas.

What is the second reason for the emphasis on family? It is the fact that some women tend to have a considerable amount of support from their natal families and most of the *chadō* practitioners are in this position. Takamine (2005) suggests that most women in the middle or upper-class expect not to work in Akita, and instead, they have support from their husbands' families and mostly from their natal families. Women's natal families tend to provide financial as well as social, physical and mental support, and this support is taken for granted by women and their families. For instance, one of the practitioners was divorced and she mentioned to me that she had considerable financial and emotional help from her natal family. Thus, family background is significant for female *chadō* practitioners.

Hashimoto (2003) describes Japanese women's definition of class. He emphasises that women's definition of class is more complex than men's, since the majority of women are housewives with no engagement in paid-work. Thus, Hashimoto (ibid.) argues that the family is central to women's definition of class. However, when he discusses 'family', he seems to mainly emphasise the husband. He (2003: 157) comments:

> An increase or decrease in her husband's salary, a change in his work conditions, and so forth directly affects a woman's life. Her husband's views about work, including the

> values he has developed in his working life are, at least partially, shared by her. It seems safe to say that for many women 'class location is mediated by family'.

What I want to draw attention to is not only the significance of the wife's husband within the immediate family, but also her husband's family background and family history: her parents-in-law, her sisters- and brothers-in-law, her grandparents- and great grandparents-in-law. More importantly, I also want to emphasise her natal family background and family history: her parents, her sisters and brothers, her grandparents and great grandparents.

When one looks at the relationship between family background and class discussion in general, it may be said that these discussions are western centred. Class discussion in western society tends to be more focused on an individual's circumstances; family background and family history are surely considered but less so than by *chadō* practitioners in Akita city, for whom these factors are an integral part of the discussion.

2.6.3 Weber's discourses on class and status

In this section, I will examine the relevance of Weber's (1958) concepts of class and status to practitioners' understanding of class.

Weber (1958) differentiates between class and status and also examines the relationship between the two. Weber (1958: 180-184) understands class from Marx's (1906) point of view and he defines class according to its position within the market (money, credit, land, industry). He argues that class struggles result from trying to maintain or control a position in the market, including the ownership of the means of production. According to Weber (1958: 182), '"property" and "lack of property" are, therefore, the basic categories of all class situations'.

On the other hand, Weber (1958: 192) defines status group as a collectivity that exists in the realm of culture and follows a distinctive life-style: a community which enjoys and imposes its particular way of life on those privileged to belong, and rejects would-be members whom it does not recognise as its own kind, however hard they might try to emulate its life-style. In the case of status groups 'they will only accept his descendants who have been educated in the conventions

of their status group and who have never besmirched its honour by their own economic labour' (Weber 1958: 192). According to Hashimoto (2003), Weber's explanation contends that status is often continuous and durable. However, Weber 'refers only abstractly to status categories such as pedigree status and ecclesiastical status in premodern society and provides little specific description of status categories present in modern society' (cited in Hashimoto 2003: 9). Therefore, in Hashimoto's view, Weber does not think that clear status distinctions existed in modern society. Rather, he concludes that in modern society, the class argument is far more predominant because the ranges of possible status-based life-styles are economically conditioned[32] (Weber 1958: 190).

As I discussed, practitioners understanding of class includes the honour and prestige of family history, the status of *sensei* (teacher) or the life-style of practitioners, which all fall within Weber's (ibid.) definition of status group. Therefore, I want to remind here that practitioners' understanding of class also includes Weber's (ibid.) concept of status. In fact, many researchers including Sugimoto (2003) say that the definition of class in Japan is strongly related to Weber's concept of status. In relation to the ideas concerning the middle-class, Sugimoto (2003:49) suggests that 'the term *chūryū* has a connotation of the middle domain of social status, respect, and prestige rather than straight economic capacity', the term *chūsan*, tends to point to 'the dimensions of property and income and to the middle to upper position in the economic hierarchy' (ibid.). Sugimoto (ibid.) argues that most Japanese identify themselves as *chūryū*, the second largest groups as *chūsan*.

Returning to Bourdieu's (1984) discussion, his definition of class in a sense also contains Weber's concept of status. When Bourdieu (ibid.) discusses class, he does not only think about economic factors such as income and inheritance but also life-style. Although Bourdieu's concept of education in terms of class does not necessarily apply to practitioners in Akita city, his understanding of class as encompassing life-style as well as economic capital is useful in analysing class of *chadō* practitioners in Akita city.

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[32] However, he (1958: 193) also adds that class and status relationship changes depend on historical and social condition. For instance, 'when the bases of the acquisition and distribution of goods are relatively stable, stratification by status is favoured. However, every technological repercussion and economic transformation threatens stratification by status and pushers the class situation into the foreground'. (Weber 1958: 193-194).

So, why do I think that practitioners are in fact discussing class instead of status? I have to admit here that the concepts of class and status among *chadō* practitioners are tightly connected and interrelated. Even the Japanese terms for class and status are interconnected. As discussed before, class is translated as *kaikyū,* and Sugimoto (2003: ix) points out, this term was already in circulation in the eighth century in Japan as an expression indicating different *status* positions between people. However, the reason I consider that they were talking about class rather than status is quite simple: I focus on the terms and meaning that *chadō* practitioners themselves use and discuss in this contemporary times.

As described above, while class is translated as *kaikyū,* status is translated as *chii* or simply *status.* Although Sugimoto (2003) contends that the term *kaikyū* (class) is not common term in everyday conversation, I did sometimes hear it used by my informants. When *chadō* practitioners discussed a person's cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital, they sometimes used the term *kaikyū* but never used the term *chii* or *status*. At other times, they used the term *mibun* or *sō*. According to *Kōjien*, which is the most trusted Japanese dictionary, this term *mibun* does contain the meaning of both status and social class in the Japanese context (Shinmura 1991: 2470). Moreover, Sugimoto (2003) comments that *mibun* implies a status position into which one is born: 'though used more loosely at times, the term connotes ascriptive characteristics and points to caste-like features'[33] (Sugimoto 2003: 49). However, among my informants, the usage of *mibun* was exactly same as the usage of *kaikyū*: practitioners were not using the phrase *mibun* simply with reference to the person's ascribed status or achieved status by cultural honour and prestige, but also with considerable emphasis on current economic factors, including the husband's occupation and income. Therefore, in their discussion of *mibun,* practitioners appeared to have class rather than status in mind. On the other hand, *sō* contains the meaning of layer, strata or class (Shinmura 1991: 1481). Again, however my informants' usage of *sō* was the same as *kaikyū* and *mibun* in that they considered all dimensions of the person's capital. Therefore, I understand that practitioners were in fact discussing class

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[33] In the Edo period (1603-1867), there was a caste system, samurai, farmer, guild, merchant and peasant. The highest one was the samurai and the lowest caste was the merchant and then peasant. (However, some merchants had more power and were respected by the society to a greater extent than some samurai). 'In feudal times, a samurai's *mibun* clearly differed from a peasant's *mibun*' (Sugimoto 2003; 49).

rather than status.

2.7 Conclusion

Drawing together all the arguments, I conclude here that Bourdieu's theory of capital contributes considerably to an understanding of class and gender issues in Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city. Through Bourdieu's (1984) lens of capital, we can understand how *chadō* practitioners in Akita city struggle, maintain, reproduce and improve their gender and class position. At the same time, we have to remember that applying Bourdieu's notion of academic education in relation to class to Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city is problematic. This is because Bourdieu's concept of class is not entirely applicable to Urasenke *chadō* practitioners' perception of class. Furthermore, in analysing this problem, I explored the idea that not only Bourdieu's notion of class but also most western and general Japanese concepts of class, do not fully apply to Akita *chadō* practitioners. On the other hand, I also pointed out that Weber's concept of status is contained in practitioners' understanding of class.

I have argued that practitioners in Akita city implicitly understand class in terms of economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital. This therefore is the definition of class which I shall use throughout my thesis.

In this chapter, I have described the theoretical framework of my thesis in order to examine the gender and class dynamics in *chadō* in Akita city. By applying the referred theoretical framework to my ethnographic data, I want to start investigating the research questions. Before considering my research questions, I will describe how carefully I paid attention to gathering my data.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The aim of my research is to examine class and gender dynamics amongst *chadō* practitioners. Hendry (1995) and other anthropologists have argued that Japanese people are trained to distinguish the *honne* (private feeling) and *tatemae* (public behaviour) from childhood. Japanese people are disciplined to show their *honne* only to family or close friends and to disclose only their *tatemae* to strangers or casual acquaintances. In order to analyse my three questions, I paid closer attention to practitioners' *honne* than *tatemae* during my fieldwork.

This chapter aims to support the quality of my data by describing my careful attention to the method of data collection. I will mainly focus on how my data was collected in Japan during my fieldwork. Identity work (Coffey 1999) is particularly highlighted as it was the most difficult and complicated task I encountered as an anthropologist. This identity work and in fact, my entire fieldwork was considerably relevant to Goffman's (1959) analysis of social behaviour in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* He explains how people present themselves and interact with society, using the metaphor of theatre. Goffman (ibid) argues that the actor's[34] main aim is to engage in coherent interaction with his audience, social others. In order to do so, the actor: self, on the stage presents himself to his audience: social others, through actions, facial expressions, props and costume from his backstage. To maintain communication with his audience, the actor changes his performance, facial expression and tools according circumstances. Additionally, the actor changes his play depending on the other actors on the stage with him. Moreover, Goffman (ibid.) describes that there is a clear distinction between backstage and front stage in the theatre. Backstage in the dressing room, the actor is relaxed and he can reveal his private feelings. But on stage, the 'impression management' (Goffman 1959: 80) is significant for him and the actor generally has to hide his private feeling in front of his audience (1959: 110-114).

Drawing on Goffman's metaphor let me to interpret my behaviour. I changed my

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[34] Goffman (1959) tends to use 'actor' instead of 'actress' in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.*

ways of acting, facial expressions, speech, and even my identity level in response to my informants', my audience's expectation. Additionally, I tended to keep my *honne* (private feeling) backstage, but sometimes brought this on stage to my informants as one of the strategies to have deeper communication with them.[35] On the other hand, the audience's, my informants' reaction, such as the disclosure level of their *honne,* changed according to my acting, stage setting: the place, and co-actors on the stage: those who accompanied me.

In order to justify the quality of my data, I will first describe the content of my data collection, particularly focusing on Anbo-*sensei*'s[36] class. Secondly, I will highlight the importance of visiting interviewees' homes and the gift-giving act. Thirdly, I will discuss ethics and language issues as I encountered them in my data collection and analysis. Then, I will discuss the significance of writing my autobiography for clarifying my research questions. Finally, I will also address the issue of having key informants as family members, as well as identity work in my fieldwork.

3.2 The content of my data collection

I conducted my fieldwork for twelve months in Akita city, Japan, and examined Urasenke *chadō*. During the first ten months, I regularly attended *chadō* practice classes from Monday to Saturday as a participant observer. For the last two months, I mainly focused on conducting personal interviews with *chadō* practitioners.

3.2.1 Access to my informants

My mother was my primary access to my informants, I met all my informants through my mother's personal connections. I managed to contact Anbo-*sensei,* Naraoka-*sensei,* Igarashi-*sensei* and my mother's *chadō* class through my mother, and all of their practitioners became my important informants. Because of the Zen

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35 Goffman (1959: 206) points out that this actor's *honne* disclosure to audience is rare.

36 Since a *chadō* teacher such as Mrs. Anbo was always called 'Anbo-*sensei* (teacher)' by my informants, I will call her 'Anbo-*sensei*' instead of 'Mrs. Anbo'.

Buddhist[37] influence in *chadō*, it is forbidden for a *chadō* practitioner to have more than one teacher. *Chadō* training is recognised as a path to enlightment and in this path, it is believed that there should be only one master. However, for my data collection, I wanted to attend several teachers' classes in Akita city. I wanted to know whether the *chadō* class atmosphere and practitioners' social and cultural background are different depending on different *sensei.*

Thus, my mother kindly contacted her close friend Naraoka-*sensei,* who was also an Urasenke *chadō* teacher and who knows the politics and networks in Urasenke *chadō* in the Akita area. My mother asked Naraoka-*sensei's* advice whether it was appropriate for my mother to request Anbo-*sensei* to accept me at her school for one year in order for me to perform my fieldwork. Naraoka-*sensei* agreed with my mother that it was a good idea and since my mother previously knew Kobaya-*sensei* (Anbo-*sensei*'s daughter), my mother could ask Kobaya-*sensei.* Kobaya-*sensei* kindly accepted this request. In a similar fashion, I managed to contact Naraoka-*sensei* and Igarashi-*sensei*'s class practitioners through my mother's *cone* (social network). Bandō (2002) points out that Akita is locally renowned for making use of *cone* in order to drive both business and personal opportunities. There is a clear distinction between insiders and outsiders, between Akita citizens and non-Akita citizens. Considerable business and personal opportunities exist only between Akita citizens through close *cone.* Everyone accepted my request to attend their classes, but my grandmother and mother thought that if somebody else had asked these *sensei* directly, he or she would have been simply denied because of common *chadō* traditions that practitioners should join only one class. Indeed, without my mother's personal connections, I might have encountered major difficulties in producing my data.[38]

3.2.2 Participant observation

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[37] Buddhism was founded by Gautama Budda in India in the fifth century B. C. and was introduced into Japan via China and Korea early in the sixth century. Buddhism was established as the national religion of Japan in the mid-seventh century, and many differing sects arose with the spread of Buddhism from the nobility to the common people. The Zen sects such as Jodoshu and Sotoshu were founded in the Kamakura period (1192-1333) (Honna and Hoffer 1986: 16).

[38] Wacquant (2006: Personal Communication) has pointed out 'we collect stamps, butterflies but not data'. His comment is particularly apposite in the context of *chadō*. Practitioners cannot simply attend *chadō* class several times and acquire *chadō* knowledge in a short period of time. They, including me as a researcher have to experience *chadō* at a detailed level in order to acquire its knowledge and produce data.

As a participant observer, I attended either Anbo, Naraoka, Igarashi or my mother's *chadō* class from Monday to Saturday in Akita city. At *chadō* class, I originally thought that I would not have to perform tea procedures and I just wanted to concentrate on my observation by sitting and drinking *matcha* (green powdered tea) on the *tatami* (Japanese straw mat) floor. However, I soon realised that it would be unnatural. This was because Anbo-*sensei* first introduced me to her practitioners as one of the new practitioners, not as an anthropologist and practitioners were generally expected to perform tea procedure at least three times in one class. Therefore, I negotiated, with *sensei* that I would practise tea procedure in the *chadō* class as the rest of the practitioners did. Moreover, in order to avoid the distance between myself and my informants, I participated in the preparation and cleaning work for *chadō* class before and after classes. Along with the other practitioners, I cleaned the utensils and threw away the waste water.

Direct contact with *sensei* (teacher) seemed to create distance between my informants and me at the initial stage of my fieldwork. There was a definite status hierarchy in *chadō* class. Anbo, Kobaya, Naraoka, Igarashi *sensei* and my mother as *sensei* were in the most powerful position in their *chadō* class. The next most powerful people in a *chadō* class were the *anedeshi-san* (big sister disciples): experienced practitioners, who have been a pupil of the same teacher for many years. For instance, at Anbo-*sensei*'s class, *anedeshi-san* taught tea procedures at the same time as Anbo-*sensei* in a different *tatami* room. Unlike my informants, I was accepted as having a special position in a *chadō* class. It was due to my position as a daughter and granddaughter of a *chadō sensei* in Akita city and as a researcher of *chadō*. To minimize this distancing between junior practitioners and me, I played down my relationship with *sensei* and *anedeshi-san* during the fieldwork and I tried to sit and talk to junior practitioners as much as possible.

In *chadō* practice, as Anderson (1991) points out, words are not valued, according to Zen Buddhism philosophy. Practitioners are expected to achieve their training or practice by watching and through their own physical training motions. Therefore, during my participant observation, even asking questions was not appreciated during *chadō* classes. Gathering information was strictly restricted to simple observation without taking notes. I wrote my observation notes into a notepad as soon as I got on the bus to return home. I noted what my informants

were talking about, what my informants were wearing, how many of them there were.

3.2.3 Interview

I finally started my personal interviews in January 2005. I conducted around 36 interviews, 33 with women and three with men[39], and each one lasted two to three hours. I selected my interviewees from people with whom I had talked during *chadō* classes. I wanted to hear a variety of voices from practitioners with a range of backgrounds, therefore I carefully selected interviewees with different backgrounds (in terms of generation, *chadō* level, social class, marital status). Miller and Bell (2002) point out that there may be a concern that 'gate keepers' sometimes influence who become the research participants. I was fortunate that my 'gate keepers', my mother or Kobaya-*sensei,* never gave their preferences. Kobaya-*sensei* said, 'I understand your research, and you will select whoever you want to and I will give their home number to you'.

When I requested an interview, I presented myself as an anthropologist from the University of Bristol. I explained that I was researching Urasenke *chadō* and was exploring why Japanese women were interested in *chadō*. I asked my interviewees whether it was possible for them to share their thoughts with me. I made my request by telephone or asked them directly before or after classes. However, after a refusal from Matsuha-san, I paid more attention to their privacy.

One day, I requested to interview Matsuha-san after a class. Matsuha-san was in her early eighties and she always attended Anbo-*sensei*'s Tuesday class. Before the *chadō* class, we often ended up having the same preparation work; putting *matcha* (green powdered tea) into around thirty different tea containers. Since we started to talk to each other quite casually, I thought that she would accept my interview request. I wanted to hear about her thoughts and experiences of Urasenke *chadō*. Since I could not reach her by telephone, I discreetly made my request after our class. However, other practitioners came near us accidentally and both of us knew that they were listening to our conversation. Matsuha-san immediately denied my request by saying, 'I do not think that I am useful at all, my motivation is very unrespectable'. Once Matsuha-san saw other practitioners'

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[39] See more details in Appendix B Informants' background.

appearance in the same room, she looked uncomfortable and worried. She continued rubbing one thumb against the other one and avoided having eye contact with me[40]. By observing her reaction to practitioners' unexpected appearance, I concluded that in her excuse of 'unrespectable motivation', for not accepting my interview seemed to be her *tatemae* (public behaviour). The only reason that I could think of for her refusal was the lack of privacy, my way of making the request was inappropriate. She might have been concerned about how she would be perceived by other practitioners by accepting my interview. Thus, as a result of this incident, I tried to pay greater attention to practitioners' privacy and accordingly made my interview requests by telephone.

When I started conducting interviews with my informants, I realised that each of them had different characteristics (some of them were happy to speak, some of them were shy and reticent). Consequently, I did not have the same interview style with every interviewee and decided to use semi-structured interviews. Skinner (2005: 49) describes the advantage of semi-structured interviews as follows:

> The instant ability to redefine questions or follow up muddled or complex answers; the 'subject' being able to ask the researcher questions, and find out more about why the interviewer is interested in them; the researcher's ability within the interview to accommodate hitherto unacknowledged themes, and the ability within the interview to establish the reasons behind, or existence of, a phenomenon where the complexity of the issues researched requires intensive, sensitive, or simply face-to-face discussion with individuals who can be given anonymity.

Skinner further insists that 'the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for the telling of "a story" by the interviewee without the kind of interruption that could have occurred in a rigidly structured interview' (ibid.). This method was therefore very useful for my data collection as it gave opportunities for my interviewees to decide their stories' direction themselves and their *honne* (private feeling) was able to be heard. By the same token, I tried to ask the following questions during the semi-structured interviews and these questions were eventually relevant to all my research questions.

1. Why did you start *chadō*?
2. Do you like it? Why? Which part do you like the best? What is it that makes it so attractive?

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[40] This is a Japanese gesture when they get worried.

3. How do you feel when you practise *chadō*? Do you feel comfortable?
4. What does *chadō* mean to you?
5. Tell me about your family. Are they supportive of your *chadō*?
6. Tell me about yourself (family background, education). Tell me about your life.
7. What do you think about other practitioners?
8. Compared to the people who are not practising *chadō*, what do you think about yourself?
9. Thinking all of these perspectives, what does *chadō* mean to you?

I was careful not to ask the direct questions which were related to class issues. Class is a sensitive topic especially for practitioners who see Urasenke *chadō* as a tool for social class mobility. My fear was that asking about this topic directly might cause a distance between us. Therefore, I did not ask directly about my interviewee's (or their spouse's) income or about their family assets. Instead of direct questions, I tried to lead our conversation to my interviewee's (or their spouse's) occupation, or their life stories so that I could gain an idea as to what their income and family assets were. However, in contrast to class issues, I was able to ask my interviewees directly about gender inequality issues. Being a woman, as were most of my informants, I did not feel that I was threatening them by asking direct questions concerning gender.

In order to build up a trust relationship, I spent a couple of hours simply chatting with my informants before the interview. We talked about their past and present lives and anything else that happened to come up. I spent one whole afternoon with Hojyo-*san*. Hojyo-*san* was in her seventies, and she enthusiastically told me about her trip to Europe in the 1970s. She said that her first son had graduated from the same university as me and then worked in London for couple of years. She told me of her survival stories in London; she did not speak English, thus, she took her empty wine bottle to the wine shop and gestured to the shop keeper to sell her two bottles of red wine. Hojyo-*san* was a little formal at first, but by talking to me about her experiences in London, she began to relax and by the end of the interview, she seemed to become quite open, honest and *down-to earth*. Yuka-*san* and I also had a couple hours chatting before the interview. Yuka-*san* was very curious about my research because her daughter was also a researcher. She told me that her daughter's major was English literature and she had also

spent her time in the UK for her research, like me. Her daughter was working for a private university in Tokyo and Yuka-*san* suggested that I should meet her when she came to the UK for her sabbatical. By spending time talking to Yuka-*san* about her daughter, I also felt that I gradually gained her trust. By the time of the interview, she had become energetic and frank and I felt that I would hear her *honne* (private feeling) perspective.

3.3 Visiting interviewees' homes

I wanted to avoid conducting interviews at a place associated with *chadō*. This was because I heard from several *chadō* practitioners that they were always nervous at *chadō* classes. Consequently, I often visited practitioners' own homes. This act of visiting the home was very useful for my research, especially for my class discussion. Firstly, I was able to see how they lived in their daily lives and secondly, I could also see their manners; how they greeted, talked and served tea and sweets. As I described in the previous chapter, manners are an embodied form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) and this is related to class debates. From the first perspective, I could see and feel their quality of life-style by looking at their homes, furniture, pictures on the walls, books and magazines on the bookshelves and music in the background. As I discussed in the previous chapter, common definitions of class, such as the category of occupation, income and academic education, did not easily apply to *chadō* practitioners. Therefore, looking at their standard of living was useful and relevant for my study of class in *chadō*.

I was invited to visit Chieko-*san*'s house for her interview. Her house was not big but they had a big entrance hall and their garden was a typical Japanese garden. First of all, I was impressed that many different kinds of old *hina-ningyo* (Japanese dolls) were decorating her *kyakuma* (guest lounge). Chieko-*san* explained to me that these *hina-ningyo* were *kahō* (family treasures) from her husband's side which she accidentally found in her family's *kura* (family treasure warehouse). Handa (2005) points out that if there is a *kura* at a family's house, this family is either from the merchant class or ex-landowner. By the side of the table, there were many magazines about museums in Kyoto and Tokyo. By looking at her home, I could see that Chieko-*san* had acquired a considerable amount of objectified form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984).

I was also invited to come to Naraoka-*san*'s house for her interview, and I found that the atmosphere of her house was very simple compared to her social class position. The Naraoka family used to be the most powerful merchants in Akita city during the Edo period (1603-1867) and they are still recognised as the old elite in Akita area. From the outside of the house I could see that Naraoka-*san* also had her family's *kura* (family treasure warehouse). I was already surprised by the quality of her entrance door: it was almost like the door for the storage room; it was not like the usual decorated door of family homes but was a simple silver colour door. I was guided to her *chadō* classroom to conduct the interview, and I realised that she was using her children's study desk chairs for *chadō* practice. When I glanced around her house, I did not see any fancy furniture or carpets, everything was very plain. I had heard so many times from my mother and my grandfather that the Naraoka family lived very simply in their daily life although they are considered wealthy. And I could see and feel their simple life-style by visiting Naraoka-*san*'s house.

Chieko-*san* and Naraoka-*san*'s house were in the Tomachi area, where many merchants used to live during the Edo period (1603-1867). Anbo-*sensei* lived in the area that was well known as the residence of medical doctors after the Meiji period (1868-1912). On the other hand, Sato-*san* and Kodama-*san* lived in a suburb of Akita city, which is well known for its new residential area. Chieko-*san*, Naraoka-*san* and Kodama-*san* guided me to the *kyakuma* (guest lounge), whereas Sato-*san* did not have *kyakuma* and guided me to the *ima* (family dining room)[41]. Sato-*san*'s house was clean, but I did not see any family treasure like Chieko-*san* and Naraoka-*san*'s. Sato-*san*'s furniture in the house was new and she told me that they bought it from a discount furniture place. She explained to me that her house is only one floor so that she and her husband can access everywhere when they get older. Indeed, her house was not big by Akita's standards and I could see that Sato-*san* lived very simply.

As for the second perspective, I could also see my informants' manners by visiting their homes. Observing their manners became very useful ethnographic data for my class discussion. I looked carefully at how they welcomed me, their way of greeting, what they served me and with what they served me. For example,

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[41] Hendry (1981) points out that if a guest is close to family, they tend to be invited to *ima*, the family dining room. Indeed, I was not close enough to be invited to their *ima*.

Chieko-*san* welcomed me with a formal bow; kneeling on the floor with the deep bow at the entrance hall and served tea, several different sweets and a small lunch for me with good quality dishes in their guest room. Then, when I came to leave, Chieko-*san* again gave a formal bow and never raised her face until I closed the entrance door. Kodama-*san* also greeted me with a formal bow by saying welcome to her home. She also served tea and sweets while I was there. On the other hand, Hojyo-*san* served the *matcha* (green powdered tea) with her *chadō* utensils. She prepared all the utensils such as the kettle and the shelf for decorating the tea container and the water container. I knew that it took much longer to prepare for serving green powdered tea than simple green tea.[42] Therefore, I really appreciated Hojyo-*san's* effort in serving green powdered tea for me.

In contrast to those described above, Sato-*san* welcomed me without a formal bow, and she served tea only once in the entire two hours. She excused herself for not serving any sweets since her dog was on a diet (but she could have served another hot tea!). As Ogasawara (1999) points out, serving tea and sweets constantly to guests are respectable middle-class manners. Even if guests do not finish their tea, hosts should replace it with hot tea, and if guests finish their first tea, hosts can offer a different style of beverage; if hosts offer the green tea first with Japanese sweets, then they might offer coffee and western style sweets such as cookies or chocolate for a change, then later on they serve Chinese tea with fresh fruit. As I described above, I observed a variety of life-styles and manners among my interviewees and this method of visiting homes provided me with detailed resources for my class debates.

3.4 Paying or gift-giving

Paying for interviews has been an ongoing discussion among researchers (Mckeganey 2001, Wiles *et al* 2004) and some sociologists argue that some socially excluded interviewees such as single mothers and young unemployed men are expected and willing to receive some financial benefits from researchers in the UK (Head 2004). Because of these expectations, some researchers choose to pay their informants. I did not pay my informants for their time, but rather gave

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[42] A host has to make a fire with charcoal in order to boil water, select calligraphy, flowers and flower container for a tea room and has to select the appropriate utensils.

them gifts in exchange, for two reasons. Firstly, I did this because my interviewees were financially comfortable and they did not appear to expect any financial benefit. Secondly, giving a gift is deemed a more appropriate way to show respect and appreciation in Japanese custom (Befu 1968). Moreover, I also heard from one of my informants, Honda-*san,* that gift-giving is more common and emphasised in Akita area than the metropolitan areas. Honda-*san* was my second interviewee for my fieldwork and she grew up in Chiba Prefecture, which is located immediately next to Tokyo. She mentioned that she was very surprised at how deeply the gift-giving act is embedded in Akita society. She recounted that whenever she gave her neighbours in Akita city souvenirs from her trips, they reciprocated with gifts of fruits or sweets within a short period of time. Honda-*san* insisted that this embedded gift-giving custom never existed in the metropolitan area, she said, 'we just gave our gifts whenever we felt like it! But in Akita, it is different. Gift-giving is a very strong custom and everyone does it, almost everyday!' From these reasons, I chose to pay more attention to the gift-giving act, and accordingly offered small gifts such as sweets and souvenirs from the UK at the beginning of the interview. With these gifts I could show my humble attitude to the senior informants.

Describing the British way of gift-giving, Kate Fox (2004: 255) points out that 'reciprocal gift-giving has always been the most effective means of preventing aggression between groups (families, clans, tribes, nations) and between individuals'. Similarly, many anthropologists assert that gift-giving is an important custom to maintain good relations in Japanese society (Befu 1968, Hamabata 1990: 18). It is customary to partake in gift-giving in the summer and winter time. In these seasons, people tend to send *ochugen* (mid summer gift) and *oseibo* (a year end gift); dishes, sweets, tea, food, towels, soaps to their colleagues and bosses in business, or friends at private occasions. On these occasions, many people, including my mother, go to the department store with a list of recipients of gifts. The department store makes a special section to display a sample of *oseibo* and *ochugen* and an area is allocated for customers to select gifts from catalogues. People are also expected to give souvenirs to their bosses, colleagues, friends and family members whenever they travel. Therefore, there are many souvenir shops that sell boxes of chocolate or candies or sweets in the sightseeing spots in Japan.

At the appropriate seasons, my mother and I gave *ochugen* and *oseibo* to Anbo,

Kobaya, Naraoka and Igarashi *sensei* in order to show our appreciation to them for allowing me to conduct fieldwork in their classes. And these *sensei* always gave something back in order to show the good relationship. For instance, Igarashi-*sensei* gave me fruits that she received from her friends. She said they were very tasty and that she would like to share these fruits with my mother and me. Whenever Anbo-*sensei* had her tea gatherings, she always gave the tea sweets for my grandparents and reminded me to give my best regards to them. Moreover, when my fieldwork came to an end, we gave a gift to Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* to show our gratitude. Anbo-*sensei* in return gave me several gifts for *senbetsu* (farewell gift), the *senbetsu* was a huge salmon, *kobukusa* (small silk cloth), *fukusa* (silk cloth) for *chadō* and 400 GBP. It is common not only to give the gift, but to also give money as a farewell gift[43]. Therefore, I was always engaged in gift-giving in order to maintain the relationship between my informants and myself.

3.5 Language and interpretation

3.5.1 Dialect

About eighty percents of practitioners in *chadō* classes were originally from Akita area and while I was attending the *chadō* classes, I often used AkitAnbo*n* (Akita dialect) instead of standard Japanese. As Sugimoto (2003) described, Japanese have many different dialects, and each dialect tends to have different vocabulary, pronunciation, and accent. For instance, the phrase 'good evening' in Akita area is different from standard Japanese; Akita people tend to say '*oban deshu'* instead of '*konbanwa'*. Some Japanese, who are originally far from Akita, state that it is very difficult for them to understand Akita dialect. Using standard Japanese to Akita people shows not only a politeness but also a distance between speakers. Additionally, standard Japanese sometimes suggests a power relationship, as between the centre and periphery. Standard Japanese language implies a metropolitan, sophisticated attitude, whereas Akita dialect is perceived to be unsophisticated. The majority of *chadō* practitioners were originally from Akita prefecture and I was sure that they would understand my Akita dialect. In order to

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[43] The monetary amount is not fixed, it depends on the occasion and how close the donor and recipient are to each other. For instance, my grandparents generally give 250 GBP as my *senbetsu* for leaving home and going back to the UK.

show my humbleness, and to narrow the distance between myself, as the researcher, and my informants, I often used Akita dialect during my *chadō* classes. On the other hand, there were some practitioners, who were originally from outside Akita prefecture. In these cases, I used standard Japanese to maintain a close relationship with these practitioners.

3.5.2 The nuance of 'INTERVIEW' in Japanese

In Japanese, the term 'interview' (as used in English) is also used in our daily conversations. However, when I asked to 'interview', I encountered problems with the term 'interview' in Japanese. I eventually decided not to use this term because of the different nuances between the English 'interview' and the Japanese 'interview'. 'Interview' tends to be recognised by an English speaking audience as 'the survey methods used to obtain data through questioning' (Tang 2003: 713). However, Japanese tend to understand 'interview' to be a big task that can only be taken on by a person who is successful at something in a society. Tang (2003: 713) faced a similar condition in China and commented:

> In China, 'interview' is a popular word. Usually, when people have achieved something in a certain field, they would be interviewed by journalists, radio or TV programs and so forth. Some of my friends who linked me and my interviewees, would say, when introducing me to the interviewees, that it was because she (the interviewee) was a famous female professor, she was so well known in the city, or so successful in her field that I would like to write about them in my thesis.

It was my parents, who suggested that the term 'interview' might be too formal. They were worried that my informants would take this occasion very seriously, get too nervous and I would end up not hearing any honest comment. Therefore, I eventually decided to ask 'could I possibly have a couple of hours to talk to you about *chadō* in Akita'. Yet this way of asking sometimes caused a misunderstanding that the talk would be less formal.

One of the informants, Orita-san thought that it was all right to have an interview during lunch with the rest of our classmates. On other occasions, I ended up interviewing an informant with her husband present. For example, Sato-*san* said to me, 'you know the talk about *chadō* in Akita, I thought about it and I realised that I do not know anything about Akita since I am not originally from Akita. So, I decided to ask my husband to join us, so that he can give some advice'.

Yuka-san's husband was also next to her during the interview. Soon after I arrived at Yuka-san's house, she said, 'my husband is upstairs and I was talking about you to him. He said he really wants to meet you and would like to join our conversation. He is waiting patiently upstairs until I call him to join us. I am sure you do not mind, do you?' Thus, on occasions I failed to get my interviewee's view due to the man's dominant influence during the interviews. Thapar-Björkert (1999) also faced similar male dominance issues when the husbands of her informants would come and sit with them during interviews. She recalls that 'nearly all the Muslim men and some Hindu men adopted a patronising attitude when their womenfolk were being interviewed' (Thapar-Björkert 1999: 61). Thereafter, I paid attention to emphasising my wish to have a talk about *chadō* in Akita city individually. This explanation seemed to work well, my informants understood my request without any of the tension which an 'interview' might have caused and without them being influenced by their husbands.

3.5.3 Translation of Japanese to English

Not only did I encountered problem in using or choosing the appropriate Japanese phrase with my informants, but I also had a problem in translating Japanese phrases to English during my analysis. The significant nuances and meanings of Japanese phrases are lost when I simply translate Japanese into English. As a solution, I kept the Japanese phrase in the sentence and tried to explain its' various nuances and meaning in English. Similarly, I wanted to keep close to the meaning and atmosphere of my conversations with informants in the text. Therefore, as long as the content was understandable, I directly translated Japanese into English and kept the grammatical mistakes of Japanese. By the same token, I also wanted to provide a detailed description of informants' body and facial expressions during the interview. However, I recognised that these can convey different meanings in an English and a Japanese context. Therefore, I described Japanese physical and facial expressions and later explored their meaning.

3.5.4 Interpretation from different generation and class

Many researchers including Geanellos (2000) and Morgan (2005) have focused on interpretative work for analysing their data. Harne (2005: 183) points out that 'interpretation is essential to the analysis of qualitative accounts. Such "texts" do

not just speak for themselves'. Indeed, some of the nuance and meaning of words and actions differed from generation to generation and between social classes. For instance, although my grandmother and Kishino-sensei were from the same generation, the action of going to a museum seemed to hold different meanings for each of them. Going to a museum was simply a normal activity for Kishino-sensei who was from the upper-class. On the other hand, this activity only occurred a few times a year and appeared to be considerable effort for my grandmother since she was originally from the working-class; according to my grandmother, her family or her relatives never took her to visit museums. In contrast to my grandmother's generation, the action of going to visit museums seemed to be very rare among today's younger generation in Akita city. Based on my participant observation, this action did not come up normally in their daily conversations neither did I hear it among the younger generations of the upper or working class. The younger generation only went to museums on their school trips. Thus, I paid more attention to capturing the entire meaning and associated background of the words used.

3.6 Ethics

Liebling and Stanko (2001: 424) point out that ethical research should be the research that 'safeguards the rights and feelings of those who are being researched'. In order to protect informants' private information and keep the data anonymous in this thesis, each informant was assigned a pseudonym. However, this is limited data protection. Even if I change my informants' names, some of them can be easily identified from the content of my ethnographic description, especially from their family background. It was difficult to change the details of practitioners' family backgrounds for data protection, since these slight differences sensitively affect their class discussion. Additionally, it was impossible to disguise my family members in my dissertation. My informants may not directly faced with serious risk such as physical or financial threat from my data disclosure. However, there is a possibility that my data may cause social conflicts among *chadō* practitioners. Therefore, I took as much care with data protection as I could, such as not disclosing specific age or hometown.

There has been ongoing discussion about consent, for instance, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 265) assert that informants 'should be informed about the

research in a comprehensive and accurate way, and should give their unconstrained consent'. In my research, I informed each interviewee about my position and the nature of my research and they all agreed that the interview could be included in my research. However, at the beginning of my fieldwork, I did not inform practitioners of my position or ask them for their consent to my research. As I describe later, my position was not introduced to other practitioners when I first attended *chadō* class. However, I gradually informed most of my informants about my position and asked their consent to my research. Thus, at the end of my fieldwork, most of my informants knew my position and agreed to be included in my research.

3.7 Writing my autobiography

In my previous chapter, I explored how my autobiography led to the formulation of my research questions and in this section, I want to discuss the significant reasons for writing autobiography in my research. Autobiography has opened a new door to qualitative research and it has been said that it offers 'uniquely privileged data, grounded in biographical experience and social contexts' (Coffey 1999: 115).

On the other hand, Okley (1992) and Coffey (1999: 132) point out that autobiographical research methods are often criticised as self-aggrandisement, self-adoration and self-indulgence indeed as, narcissistic. However, Okley (1992: 8) asserts that autobiography is not told by a single narrator, but instead, engages multiple voices. Stanley (1993: 51) states that '"A life", whether of one's self or another is never composed of one decorticated person alone'. For Stanley (ibid.), 'auto/biography in sociology calls attention to how the writer's life is lived and understood in relation to a social network of people'. Stanley insists that to write individual experience is, at the same time to write social experience. Indeed, through the autobiographical approach, we can find not only the author but also other his/her interaction with those around him/her. In my autobiographical research, the audience will not only find my voice and opinions but also other people's voices such as that of my grandmother, mother, family members, friends and of other practitioners. Additionally, Mykhalovskiy (1997) argues that autobiography is told in part through the recounting of memories, therefore it produces the distinction between past/present and fact/fiction. It seems that each

of these past, present, fact and fiction views encompass multiple voices and these points enrich the research quality. Therefore, since autobiography always engages with numerous voices from society, I would argue that the autobiographical method is not in inevitably self-indulgence or egoism.

The notion of autobiography is also criticised as too subjective and threatening to the canon of 'objective' of social science research. Nagel (1986) considers the argument about subjectivity and objectivity. He (ibid.) does not deny the objective point of view, but demonstrates the absurdity of being objective about subjectivity. According to Nagel (ibid.), not everything in life can be adequately explained from an objective standpoint. 'Some things can only be understood from the inside, and access to them will depend on how far our subjective imagination can travel' (Nagel 1986: 18). Nagel (1986: 13) used the example that 'we will not know exactly how scrambled egg tastes to a cockroach even if we develop a detailed objective phenomenology of the cockroach's sense of taste'. Writing tricks and data transformations may distract us, but they do not guarantee a clearer tale or a greater fact. Therefore, we can also argue that autobiography as offering the subjective point of view may be the most appropriate way to understand *chadō* phenomena in Akita city.

Although the autobiographical method has been criticised as not being objective, the feminist critique of social science (Smith 1987, Harding 1987, Cancian 1992) argues that social science itself does not hold the objective point of view. Although the dominant intellectuals have claimed that their research standpoint is 'universal', 'neutral' and 'objective', it actually seems that their knowledge is always influenced by their own gender, race and class background and does not hold an objective point. On the other hand, some researchers including Mykhalovskiy (1997) and Atkinson (1997) argue that objective authenticity may be strengthened rather than weakened by autobiography. Mykhalvskiy (1997) points out that revealing the self in the text can highlight the tensions and contradiction of dichotomies such as self/other, writer/reader, author/audience. Therefore, by writing autobiography, researchers seem to recognise the clear standpoint of their positions within power hierarchies and within a constellation of gender, race, class and citizenship (Hertz and Imber 1995: Introduction) and consequently, research becomes more comprehensive.

Indeed, I could argue that writing autobiography is more transparent than other research methods, since autobiography discloses the researcher's stand point, influenced by his/her cultural, educational and social background, rather than denying or ignoring it. In my autobiography, I explained that I am not only an anthropologist but also a Japanese woman, a *chadō* practitioner and a dutiful daughter. By describing my family, academic and *chadō* backgrounds, I disclose my clear standpoint and how I think this process enhances the value of my research.

It is also noteworthy, as Okley (1992: 4) and Dodd (1986) state, that socially excluded and working-class biographies have been ignored by the autobiography method. Moreover, Smith (1987: 4) raises the point that 'seemingly vocationless women' have been also excluded in autobiographical research. I would argue that the middle-class women's voices in Akita have also not been heard. This is because the generally accepted gender role of these women precludes them from an independent life worth describing. Even if middle-class women in Akita are educated and well off, most of them are expected to prioritise their household work rather than engage with the academic field or reveal the details of their own lives. Most *chadō* practitioners are middle-class and my autobiography includes in many ways, the voices of middle-class women in Akita.

Finally, I have always had a strong feeling that I wanted to do research about *chadō*. However, I found in a sense, that I had too much experience of *chadō* in my life. My head was filled with my feelings about *chadō* and these emotions prevented me thinking clearly about it from an analytical perspective. Indeed, I was overwhelmed by the complexity of my experience of self-involvement (Myhaloskiy 1997: 246). 'It was as though there were too many layers to unpack, and too many stones to tell at once' (ibid.). However, by writing my autobiography, by putting stories and feelings on paper, I could organise and unpack these many layers and stories and formulate my questions about *chadō* more clearly. Therefore, it was important to use autobiography as a research tool.

So far, I have considered some of the criticism associated with, as well as my justification for writing autobiography. For researchers who are heavily involved with the informants' society in their life-time, writing autobiography seems to provide advantages to them such as offering to disentangle their research issues

and providing the researcher's clear standpoint by disclosing his or her cultural, social and educational background. Additionally, I have pointed out that autobiography is criticised as subjective. However, I also emphasised that the subjective point of view can be considerably beneficial to an understanding of some social phenomena. It is for these reasons that I used autobiography as one aspect of my research methodology.

3.8 Key informants as family members

In this section, I will examine the use of family members not only as gate-keepers but as key informants. Key informants do not only provide constant information during our fieldwork but also listen and give advice on our research (Coffey 1999: 42-47). They therefore shape our research and play an indispensable role in it. In my case, my grandmother and mother were my key informants. Similarly, Borland (1991) conducted an analysis of her grandmother's narrative, so her grandmother also became her key informant. Her grandmother not only provided her with information but also read her research and offered some advice. After Borland's analysis of her grandmother's story, she shared her interpretation with her grandmother and her grandmother first disagreed with what Borland understood and wrote in her paper. Borland's grandmother complained that Borland's interpretation was a contemporary feminist perspective and was completely wrong. Based on her research experience, Borland discusses the need for restructuring 'the unidirectional flow of information out of source to scholar' (Borland 1991: 73).

Having family members as key informants, I also had slight misunderstandings between my grandmother and myself. I had several interviews with my grandmother discussing her motivation for *chadō*. I asked how she started her *chadō* and she always said that she had started *chadō* because her sister was practising in Tokyo. She also added that a *chadō* classroom was very close to where she lived in Tokyo, so it was a good excuse for her to practise *chadō*. However, I found that there was something missing in her story: her account was often contradictory and I also felt that her manner of talking, the way she paused or speeded her talk, were awkward. Therefore, I asked my other family members, my grandfather and mother about her life story and I realised that her life story was different from her own account. My grandfather and mother told me that she

only started practising *chadō* at her former fiancé's mother's request. Because my grandmother was not from a sufficiently socially respectable position, she was apparently asked to practise *chadō* in order to acquire status (this content is further elaborated in Chapter Six). I later checked the year when she started and it was the same year that she became engaged to her former fiancé. Additionally, I heard from my relatives that my grandmother's sister in Tokyo never learned *chadō* in her life. Thus, it appeared that my grandfather and my mother's accounts were closer to my grandmother's significant reason for starting *chadō*.

Later on, I asked my grandmother about her former fiancé. She looked a little surprised but simply said, 'this is not what you need to know' and soon changed our conversation topic. But why did my grandmother tell a different story and why did she not want to discuss her former fiancé? Levitas (2005) raises ethical considerations about family honour: sometimes family members tell a family legacy or honour story in order to leave behind Anboautiful version of their life history (Halbwachs 1992: 77-81, Connerton 1989: 37-40). Indeed, my grandmother's account seems to accord with this sense of family honour and consequently with the Japanese concept of *maiyo* (honour) and *haji* (shame) (Benedict 1946). My grandmother looked embarrassed and resentful when I asked about her former fiancé: she started to talk very fast and immediately avoided eye contact with me.

However, why was my grandmother embarrassed because of her former fiancé? It appears to me that her reaction is part of the Japanese concept of *haji* (shame). Benedict (1946) describes the Japanese notion of honour/shame and points out that this concept and the degree of *meiyo/haji* (honour/shame) changes according to the circumstances. For instance, Kiyama (1996: 285) describes how Japanese tend not to follow their general notion of honour/shame abroad and consequently many behave badly. This is because 'shame is a reaction to other people's criticism' (Benedict 1946: 223), and Japanese believe that non-Japanese do not share the same concept of honour/shame as Japanese (Kiyama 1996). More importantly, Benedict (1946) describes how family members tend to share similar social behaviour, expectations and the concept of honour/shame, and therefore the significance of these concepts among family members can provoke more tension than among non-family members.

It appears that my grandmother's notions of *haji* (shame) and *meiyo* (honour) created tension, since I was her family member and my grandmother might consider that I shared a similar concept of shame/honour. Since there was and still is the social expectation that marriage should be once in a person's lifetime, she might have felt embarrassed to reveal the fact that she was once engaged to another man besides my grandfather. Additionally, she might have felt embarrassed to admit that she was in fact from a lower social position and she only improved her position through *chadō*. Moreover, my grandmother's anxiety about family honour seemed to be much greater in relation to me as a granddaughter than my mother and my grandfather. This may be related to the fact that, as her granddaughter I represented the youngest generation among our family members. My grandmother might have thought that she had to pass on the beautiful family legacy to me since I would be the person to have the responsibility to hand down the family story to our future family members. Consequently, because of this Japanese concept of *meiyo/haji* (honour/shame), I was in great danger of not hearing my grandmother's entire life story. Therefore, I always tried to be careful about my family members' reactions in discussion: I observed their body posture carefully, their eyes, their shoulders and arm positions. I also paid attention to the way they spoke and the degree of tension in their conversation. When I felt a little awkward I consulted other family members.

From the talks with my other family members, I gained another insight into my grandmother's life story. For me, as a researcher, my grandfather and my mother's account of my grandmother story seemed to be a relevant fact in my grandmother's life. At the same time, I became concerned whether I was ignoring my grandmother's voice. There has been an ongoing discussion about giving greater emphasis to the informants' voice and interpretation rather than anthropologist's voice (Turner 1992:5, Eriksen 2001:36). Eriksen asserts that 'the anthropologist aims to reproduce reality the way it is perceived by the informants'. In my dissertation, I certainly aim to focus on the view from inside rather than the view from outside *chadō*. Therefore, in order to respect my grandmother's voice, I also include her own description of her life in my ethnography chapter.

In fact, this discussion also seemed to be related to Ricoeur's (1981) discourses on hermeneutic[44] interpretation. He argues that there are two forms of interpretation

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[44] Morgan (2005: 86) points out that 'hermeneutics is based on the idea that we can only

in social science: the hermeneutics of faith and the hermeneutics of suspicion. The former is 'construed as the restoration of a meaning addressed to the interpreter in the form of a message. This type of hermeneutics is animated by faith, by a willingness to listen' (Thompson 1981: 6). The researcher perceives that informants are telling what they believe to be their experience and it is the researcher's work to represent and convey their meaning as accurately as possible. On the other hand, the latter is 'regarded as the demystification of a meaning presented to the interpretation in the form of a disguise. This type of hermeneutics is animated by suspicion, by a scepticism towards the given' (ibid). Thus, according to interpretation style, researchers conceive that social reality is masked (Josselson 2004) and informants may not notice this mask since it is so naturally embedded in their lives. Although these two approaches are totally opposite, Ricoeur (1981: 111) further insists that researchers can analyse the objects more deep by combining these two perspectives[45]. In terms of my grandmother's case, I argue that I examine my grandmother's relationship to *chadō* from both of these perspectives, hermeneutic of faith and suspicion: I became suspicious about my grandmother's account, so, I examined the social contexts around my grandmother's situation and consequently provided and analysed my grandmother's case by including my grandfather and mother's perspectives.

On the other hand, Jones (2004) also conducted his narrative analysis with his grandmother. Jones points out the reciprocal relationship between him and his grandmother. He describes how his grandmother financially supported his study, and as a reciprocal relationship, he wanted to offer an intellectual exchange. According to Jones, this relationship was based on 'mutual respect and affection' (2004: 3). Family members tend to have affection for one another, so, it seems to be quite normal to have an affectionate relationship between a researcher and his or her family member informants. Indeed, I also have this affectionate relationship: my parents and grandparents raised and gave their continuous love to me and they also spent a considerable amount of money on my academic education. In return, I find that I also want to provide some stimulating anthropological discussions with my family members. However, I would argue

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understand the meaning of a statement in relation to a whole discourse or world-view of which it forms a part. We have to refer to the whole to discourse or world-view of which it forms a part- i.e. hermeneutic circle'.

[45]It seems that participant observation strongly encourages anthropologists to acquire the view of hermeneutic of suspicion, we can find many other perspectives which are hidden among complex social dynamics.

that my relationship with family members, especially with my mother is characterised by power struggle as well as strong bonds of love and affection. This power relationship is complex and indeed related to my identity work during my fieldwork. I will discuss this complex power relationship by focusing on my identity work in the following section.

3.9 Identity work

In my fieldwork, my identity work (Coffey 1999) was the most difficult, sensitive and critical task for me. For the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on the discussion of an anthropologist's identity work and will explain why this work was necessary.

Fieldwork is not a simple task. Coffey points out that 'fieldwork is personal and emotional' (1999: 1). Anthropologists tend to be alone during their fieldwork, removed from the atmosphere of their academic life, frequently being isolated from their colleagues and supervisors. 'As anthropologists, we walk a tightrope of human interaction, balancing our needs with informants around us' (Yano 2003: 292). During our fieldwork, 'it is totally necessary and desirable to recognise that we are part of what we study, affected by the cultural context and shaped by our fieldwork experience' (Coffey 1999: 37). Within this context, of course, an anthropologist also has to maintain his or her identity as an anthropologist. However, this identity is often invaded or compromised by other identities, which emerge during the fieldwork. Identity work is a very important issue for every anthropologist.

In this section, I will address the significance of identity work for an anthropologist. Firstly, I will explain the concept of identity and identity work for a researcher. Secondly, I will describe the identity work of some anthropologists. I will argue that this poses a particular problem for a Japanese or Japanese-looking anthropologist in relation to his or her physical appearance and the Japanese concept of 'self'. Thirdly, I will describe my identity work and elaborate on how this task shifted throughout my fieldwork. In this section, I will also highlight the Japanese concept of *honne* (private feeling) and *tatemae* (public behaviour) and the transition between them. I will argue that my identity work occurred in two domains; the concept of Japanese 'self', and my relation with my informants, on

whose good will I, as an anthropologist, depend. By using my ethnographic findings, I will challenge the feminist methodological arguments about power relationships between a researcher and the researched. Finally, I will conclude that a researcher's identities are fluid, and identity work is an essential task for a Japanese anthropologist, as for any anthropologist whose informants exercise power.

3.9.1 Identity and identity work

While many researchers including Gleason (1983: 910) argue that the definition of identity[46] is 'elusive and ubiquitous', he (1983: 918) also points out that there are two different ways of approaching identity dynamics depending 'on whether identity is to be understood as something internal that persists through change or as something ascribed from without that changes according to circumstances'. For instance, as the former approach, Erik Eriksen (1994) understands that although the shape of person's identity changes according to the social milieu, the core part of identity is based in the deep psychic structure of the person and does not change, whatever the circumstances. On the other hand, as the latter identity approach, Goffman (1959) and Thomas Eriksen (2001) suggest that the person's identity is largely based on external influences and it does change according to context. *In The presentation of self in everyday life,* Goffman (ibid.) not only discusses a person's social behaviour but also the notion of identity[47] (Manning 1992: 29). Although he points out that a person tends not to share his or her identity and private feeling with other people, the identity constantly changes according to the circumstances. According to Eriksen (2001), every human being has multiple identities, which are based on ethnicity, kinship, sex and gender. He goes further (2001:272):

> Any person thus has many complementary social identities, and context decides which of them is activated at any given time. Identity is not fixed, is not "innate", but is fashioned in the encounter between an individual and social situation.

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[46] '*Identity* comes from the Latin root *idem,* the same, and has been used in English since the sixteenth century. It has a technical meaning in algebra and logic and has been associated with the perennial mind-body problem in philosophy' (Gleason 1983: 911).

[47] Goffman (1964) further develops his idea of identity in *Stigma.* 'There are three distinct meanings to the word "identity". A "social identity" is based on relationships to other people. A "personal identity" is tied to the individual's personal biography. Finally, there is an "ego identity": this refers to a individual's subjective sense of himself or herself as a result of various experiences' (cited in Manning 1992: 98).

Coffey (1999: 25) also states that a researcher's identity is constructed and mediated by 'family, race, and gender'. According to Wengle (1988: 23), researchers' identities are not 'single, fixed and bound entities'. I agree with Coffey and Wengle's approach to researchers' identities: researchers have multiple identities and these identities are 'constructed, amended and stitched together imperfectly' (Coffey 1999: 36). Identity is affected by both physical appearance and attitude, and this occurs both during and after fieldwork. Thus, researchers' identities are fragmented and connected, open to shifts and negotiations' (Coffey 1999: 35) and within this circumstance, a researcher always amends or reshapes his or her whole identity along with informants. Coffey calls this researcher's work 'identity work' (1999: 5). I further argue that this task can involve prioritising one identity within an anthropologist's multiple identities, or challenging the relatively new identity. This identity work encourages a fieldworker to maintain smooth relationships with his or her informants throughout his or her data collection period and consequently leads to the successful data collection. Lofland and Lofland (1995), and Hammersly and Atkinson (1995) 'acknowledge that the researcher is part of the research process' (cited in Coffey 1999: 4) and emphasise the need to undertake identity work in order to conduct fieldwork successfully. At the same time, Coffey emphasises that while there is much discussion about the stresses and rewards of qualitative fieldwork, there is little emphasis on identity work in the research methodology literature (1999: 2). In my fieldwork, my identity issues were not easy to resolve, on the contrary they involved hard work and considerable pain. In order to emphasise this hard task, I use Coffey's term, 'identity work' (1999: 5) in this thesis.

3.9.2 Identity work in Japan

I argue that native anthropologists face particular challenges in identity work in Japan. This is because, generally, the physical appearance and some of the cultural background of native anthropologists are similar to their informants', and informants tend to take for granted that native anthropologists are in the same group as themselves. A native anthropologist is considered to have the same 'self' and expectations in life as informants and to a certain extent, he or she also holds the same social obligations to others in the society as his or her informants.

Kondo argues that 'selves and society are not separate entities in Japan, and persons are constituted in and through social relations and obligation to others' (Kondo 1990: 22). A Japanese person is 'never allowed to be an autonomous, freely operating "individual"'(Kondo 1990: 26). Kondo (1990: 33) elaborates that 'self is permeable, determined by contest and boundaries, it is constantly shifting'. She (ibid.) states:

> Japanese women portray themselves as accommodating to duties and to the needs of others, rather than as independent decision makers. And it is this accommodation to others that makes them fully mature human beings.

Accepting the duties of obligation to others: marrying a man and having children, living with the husband's parents and taking care of them makes a Japanese woman a fully mature human being. Thus, a Japanese female anthropologist is expected to have this kind of self, which is related to obligation to others, just as informants also have these obligations.

On the other hand, Kuwayama (2004) points out that the definition of 'native anthropologists' is complex and argued that a 'native anthropologist' is not entirely native. First of all, Kuwayama (2004: 3) defines a 'native anthropologist' as the 'anthropologist who belongs to the research community by birth'. However, he further continues that professionally trained anthropologists generally live outside the research community and most of them belong to academic institutions in the cities. Thereafter, anthropologists are rarely found in the small communities where they were born. 'Local anthropologists are therefore native only in a secondary sense of the word' (ibid.). Indeed, anyone doing ethnography 'at home' becomes a different sort of 'native' within the field site. However, how many informants assume that native anthropologists are native only in a secondary sense of the word? How many informants think that native anthropologists do not hold the same expectations in life?

Here, I will consider the circumstances of four researchers doing identity work in Japan, Ogasawara, Yano, Kondo and Hamabata. Ogasawara is Japanese and grew up in Japan. The other three anthropologists are Japanese-American and grew up in the United States. However, due to their Japanese ancestry, all of them look stereotypically Japanese.

Ogasawara (1998) is a Japanese sociologist, but gained her Phd in the United States. During her fieldwork in Japan, she occasionally had to accept her identity not only as a sociologist in the United States, but also as a student of English by the Japanese *office ladies*[48] (female clerical workers) who were her informants. Ogasawara (ibid.) found during her fieldwork time that there was an increasing tendency for *office ladies* to quit their jobs and study abroad to learn English. Ogasawara states that when the student was a woman, graduate education was easily mistaken for language training. She was often complimented on her assiduousness in having gone abroad to study 'English'. Further, Ogasawara was sometimes identified among her informants as the wife of her husband rather than as a doctoral student. Her informants assumed that Ogasawara had followed her husband to the United Sates so that he could study there. They all assumed that she was making the most of her time in Tokyo by working temporarily during her husband's short assignment there. 'They seemed never to entertain the idea that my husband and I applied together for graduate study in the United States and then came to Tokyo for the benefit of our careers' (Ogasawara 1998: 176).

Since her appearance and cultural background were similar to her informants, Ogasawara reshaped and redefined her whole identity many times during her fieldwork. Ogasawara's informants knew that she was raised in Japan, so they assumed she had similar identity and expectations for her life. Additionally, because of this perceived similar identity, informants assumed that Ogasawara was burdened with similar obligations to others in Japanese society. This led to her identification as an *office lady* (just learning English and becoming a good wife) and as a dutiful Japanese wife. Ogasawara could easily have insisted on her identity as a doctoral student in front of her informants. But on the contrary, Ogasawara negotiated her identity as a researcher amongst her other identities; in order to maintain a good and smooth relationship with her informants, she accordingly accepted the identity as a young *office lady* and a wife.

This concept of similarity or closeness between the native anthropologist and her research group is recognised as possibly having a negative influence on the fieldwork. Ogasawara argues that Japanese organizations in general are more open to non-Japanese researchers. Ogasawara suggests that 'the informants tend to

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[48] The opposite of this is *career woman* in Japanese and has the same nuances as the English idea of the term 'career woman'.

lower their guard with foreigners, assuming that foreigners will not be able to comprehend Japanese ways of life' (1998: 199). This parallels the ideas of Simmel (1908) that the stranger sometimes experiences a close relationship with informants because of his or her position and freedom, not bound by ties of prejudice and cultural perception. Because of this similarity or closeness as a native anthropologist, Ogasawara (1998) was not accepted as a fieldworker in Japanese companies. Therefore, she posed her identity as a temporary worker. She decided to sign up at several agencies for temporary workers since the companies were eager to hire temporary workers in order to reduce their costs. Once she managed to be accepted as a temporary worker by one Japanese company, she gave some information about her background, including her affiliation with the University of Chicago. However, Ogasawara did not state explicitly that she was conducting research; she did not disclose her identity and negotiate her identity as a sociologist in front of her informants.

These issues of proximity and complex identity work also affect Japanese-American anthropologists during their fieldwork in Japan. Yano (2003) said that she was not foreign enough (i.e. Caucasian) so she lost all the advantages she could get of Simmel's idea of 'stranger'. 'No matter how many times I explained to my informants that I was American, not Japanese, the phenotype held sway in people's mind' (Yano 2003: 290). This continued even when Yano was surrounded by her Caucasian husband and mixed-race children, interacting in English. The notion remained stubbornly embedded in informants' perceptions that a Japanese face presupposes a Japanese mind[49].

Hence, Yano (2003) was identified as a Japanese woman, a Japanese wife and a Japanese mother with the same Japanese way of thinking and social obligations as her informants, not as an anthropologist from the United States. Eventually, Yano accepted her imposed identity and took this embedded identity as a Japanese as an advantage. Since informants always considered Yano as Japanese, she identified herself as Japanese-American (not as American), which Yano argues was low

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[49] This is classic racism or racialism but Coffey (1999:71) argues that 'the ability to "look" as we are expected to is a key factor in ability to conduct research'. 'The ability to serve as advocate or representative or participant is mediated by our physical looks (looking "right", looking the part) and the status of our body (such as pregnancy: studying mother and motherhood)' (ibid.). For instance, white researchers studying black culture may have a very different way of approaching and conducting research compared with black researchers studying black culture.

status in the Japanese hierarchy, she exploited the concept of *amaeru* (to depend upon; act or be dependent) without compunction. *Amae* as the noun version of *amaeru*, is translated as 'passive love' or 'dependence' by Doi (1973) (cited in Hendry 1987:55) and Doi defines it as 'the allegedly unique psychological inclination among the Japanese to seek emotional satisfaction by prevailing upon and depending on their superiors' (cited in Sugimoto 2003: 3). With the *amaeru* approach, she would be seen not as an aggressor, seeking assistance to ameliorate her situation. 'I could *amaeru* within her position as inept Japanese and ask the "dumb" questions by which anthropologists gather people's basic conceptualizations' (Yano 2003: 291).

On the other hand, Kondo (1990) found that 'similarity' or 'closeness' issues created a crisis in her fieldwork. Kondo is also a Japanese-American but she positioned herself as Japanese, her whole identity was occupied by the identity of being Japanese, because of her informants, and as a result she almost ended up losing her identity as an anthropologist. Kondo identified herself in terms of culturally defined roles, which in the field were assigned to her as a Japanese daughter and a female guest. Since she looked Japanese, she was expected to have Japanese etiquette, manners and Japanese feelings. Kondo was expected to behave in relation to her obligations to others. On seeing a reflection of a 'typical' young Japanese, she realised that what she was observing was her own image; Kondo's own sense of identity thus reached a crisis. Her identity was in the process of being rewritten and Kondo saw this as a threat to her own sense of selfhood. It appears that Kondo felt threatened by her new identity as a Japanese daughter, which was created during her fieldwork. Since a researcher has multiple identities, this identity as a Japanese daughter interfered with the identity of an anthropologist.

Similarly to Kondo (1990), Hamabata (1990), a third generation Japanese-American, seemed to struggle with his dual identity. Hamabata commented: 'Was I inside or out? Well the answer is quite simple: When I thought I was in, I was actually out, but when I acknowledged the fact that I was out, I was let in' (1990: 6). Because of his appearance, he was assumed to be Japanese and not American. Since he had an imperfect command of Japanese, he was treated as an incomplete human being during his fieldwork in Japan. Thus, in order to leave a good impression with informants, Hamabata initially presented

himself as an American. He shook hands and used English when meeting his informants for the first time. On other occasions, he emphasised his identity as Japanese so that his informants would feel closer to him, as belonging to the same group of people. Additionally, he added that he chose to refer to himself only as '*boku*', which is a form of the pronoun 'I'. A male could refer to himself in the more formal '*watakushi*' or the informal, masculine '*ore*', but he used the boyish term '*boku*'. He emphasised his relatively new identity as a boy *'boku'*. He de-emphasised his adult male status, '*watakushi*' or 'ore', in order to remove himself from the sexual market (becoming a boyfriend or available for marriage). This issue was specific to his being Japanese-American: as he looked Japanese, informants took him to have traditional social expectations of marriage.

Whether it was positive or negative, Ogasawara, Yano, Kondo and Hamabata are examples whose identities had to be carefully amended and reshaped since they could easily be categorised as the same sort of people as their informants in Japan and were thus expected to express the same obligation to others. This is why paying attention to identity work is crucial for anthropologists, especially native anthropologists in Japan, in order to conduct fieldwork successfully. Although Japanese-Americans such as Yano, Kondo and Hamabata may not be considered native anthropologists, their experience of similarity and closeness issues seem to be relevant to native anthropologists.

Kuwayama argues that 'native anthropologists are a relational concept' (2004: 4). He further comments:

> Like 'insiders' and 'outsiders', the category of people defined by this term is not fixed. Rather, it shifts according to the situation in which researchers find themselves. For example, Japanese anthropologists from the cities studying rural communities in Japan are outsiders and non-native to the community they research. They may, however, be considered insiders and native in relation to foreign anthropologists studying Japan (ibid.).

In Yano, Kondo and Hamabata's case, they may be considered as Japanese natives compared with Americans who have a non-Japanese family background. 'Native is therefore a fluid category whose meaning is dependent on the social context' (ibid.). I was regarded as a Japanese native, a native in Akita and a native in *chadō* society.

3.9.3 My identity work

So far, I have described the researchers' task of identity work. What issues did I face in maintaining my identity as an anthropologist? How did my identity work change through my fieldwork? In this section, I will discuss my identity work in Akita city. I will first give my informants' background and their power position in relation to my identity.

My informants' background[50]

My informants were mainly Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. The majority of my informants were females, senior, married and above middle-class. Most of my informants had many more years experience of the Urasenke *chadō* than I do. Based on these grounds, the majority of my informants were in a more socially powerful position than I. Firstly, some of my informants were in a position to be called *'sensei'* (teacher) and this position holds great authority and is well respected in Japanese society. At *chadō* classes, some practitioners taught me tea procedures, thus they also acted as my '*sensei*'. Secondly, due to Confucianist[51] ideals, senior persons are respected in Japan. Confucianism encourages the belief that one should be humble to one's seniors; therefore, my informants had a superior status to me, a junior person. Thirdly, most of my informants were married, which is a recognised symbol of maturity in Japanese society (Hendry 1995). Fourthly, some of my informants were from the upper-classes whereas I am from the middle-class. These informants were accordingly in a more economically and culturally powerful position (derived from their old elite family background) than me. Finally, many of my informants were also of a higher economic status. The majority of my informants did not work but were wives of middle or upper middle-class men. Generally, housewives are in charge of finances in the household, indeed many men refer to their wives as the 'finance minister'.

Moreover, my most important informant, my mother, held considerable power over me, particularly when I considered our relationship from my standpoint as a

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50 For more details see Appendix B Informants' background.

51 Confucianism is a philosophical, ethical and political teaching with some of those religious aspects fathered by Confucius, the Chinese philosopher of the sixth century B. C.. Confucianism reached Japan by way of Korea in the early fifth century and had an influence on the creation and development of Japanese society (Honna and Hoffer 1986: 110).

researcher. Without my mother's support, I would never have been able to obtain such intriguing information within the limited time of my fieldwork, such as the family histories of many practitioners in Akita city and the stories that were discussed only between *chadō* committee members in Akita. It would take decades (at least) for me to become a committee member and become involved at this level. Additionally, my mother was more powerful because of the parent/child relationship. Even when a child becomes adult, he or she is still expected to obey his or her parents to a certain extent in Japan. A child tends to be recognised as a dependant even when he or she is an adult. This relationship is related to Doi's (1973) notion of *amae* (dependence). Doi argued that this action of *amaeru* (to be dependent) is apparent among in-group members such as family members, mother and child. Therefore, the power relationship between my mother and myself was determined by the dynamics of teacher/student, mother/child and researcher/best informant. Considering these issues, most of my informants were in more of a position to exercise power than I, as a young, single, middle-class, poor student.

Transition

As Ogasawara (1998) had multiple identities; a doctoral student, a student of English, a Japanese wife, a young office lady and a temporary worker, I also had many identities during my fieldwork. My fieldwork identities were negotiated between the following; an anthropologist, a simple *chadō* student, a *chamei* (professional *chadō* name)[52] ranked student, a Japanese daughter and a granddaughter. While Ogasawara tended to have her identity work in the public domain, I exposed, accepted, challenged and reshaped my identities in both public and private domains. This was because my family members, especially my mother, were my best informants. I had to accept a given identity until bedtime since I lived with my best informant, my mother, during my fieldwork. Thus, my identity work was more complicated and stressful. In this section, I will describe how my identity work changed by highlighting the conflict of multiple identities. By the same token, I will also discuss not only my transition and but also my informants' transition in terms of *honne* (private feeling) and *tatemae* (public behaviour).

Before starting my fieldwork, I had a clear expectation that I could simply

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[52] The name usually consist of two Chinese characters: The first one is the same as the first character of the grand tea master's Buddhist name, and the second one is any character from one's given name.

concentrate on the data collection as an anthropologist. But soon after beginning to work with my informants, I started to realise that I was balancing and negotiating my one identity as an anthropologist with my multiple identities. At the first stage of my fieldwork, I had to force myself to change the emphasis of my identity from an anthropologist to a daughter or a granddaughter. I needed this identity because I had to be involved with informants, who identifies me as a daughter or as a granddaughter. I was introduced as a new practitioner in front of the other *chadō* practitioners. Kobaya-*sensei* mentioned, 'Chiba-*san* (my family name) is a new student who would like to study tea with us.' In later visits, Kobaya-*sensei* gradually started to introduce me to several practitioners not as a researcher from the UK but as the daughter of my mother and granddaughter of my grandmother. Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* said, 'Kaeko-*san* is actually the daughter of Chiba-*sensei*, you know the lady who is the committee member in Urasenke Akita Branch. She used to teach Urasenke *chadō* at MSU-A (Minnesota University in Akita) and now she teaches at the new university, Akita International University. And her grandmother is Yamada-*sensei*!'

Moreover, several practitioners mentioned in greeting me that they knew my mother and grandmother well and send their best regards to them. For instance, Hashima-*san* said, 'aren't you the granddaughter of Yama-*sensei*? I am Hashima and my husband used to work at Sakida News Company with your grandfather. Your grandfather used to be my husband's boss. How is everyone? Please give my best regards to everyone'. Sakai-san mentioned:

> You are the little girl who was helping your grandmother and mother at Senshū tea gathering. You really have grown up! I have not seen your grandmother these days; please give my best regards to your grandmother and your mother. They must be so happy that you are back and carry on practising the *chadō*, you must be well trained.

Each occasion when I was asked to transmit greetings to them I realised that they identified me as the daughter or as the granddaughter. I did not request Kobaya-*sensei* to introduce me as an anthropologist from the UK; and I did not negotiate my identity with my informants. I was afraid that this request might have risked causing a conflict with Kobaya-*sensei* by not being an obedient *chadō* student. Moreover, I did not express my identity as an anthropologist to other practitioners since they simply did not ask me what I was doing. I did not want their first impression of me to be that of *deshabari* (meddler) or *namaiki* (impertinent) by expressing too much of myself to my informants, specifically

because in accordance with the Confucian idea of seniority systems, expressing one's own position without being asked by senior persons is regarded as an aggressive attitude.

Thus, I had to accept my identity more as a daughter or as a granddaughter than as an anthropologist among my informants at the first stage of my fieldwork. Although, the identity as a daughter or as a granddaughter was also my real identity, I felt uncomfortable because, since my childhood, I had rarely been used to being introduced to new acquaintances as a daughter or as a granddaughter, and I no longer thought of myself primarily as a daughter or granddaughter before my fieldwork in Akita city. Of course, I also had several identities in the UK: an Asian female, a Japanese female, a graduate student, and a tenant of my flat. I had been more frequently introduced and identified as an independent anthropologist in the UK. This might be because my public life and private life were both heavily engaged with my academic relations. This identity as an anthropologist made me feel mature and recognised in society. This confidence disappeared when I was identified as a daughter or a granddaughter; I felt that I was still a useless child who needed help all the time from my family. A similar situation has also been described in Abu-Lughod (1986)'s fieldwork. Abu-Lughod was introduced by her father to the Bedouin community; it was the only way she could gain access to her informants since the Bedouin culture is male dominated and for a young single female, a male figure connection was indispensable to obtain access to her future informants.

At the same time, whilst planning my fieldwork, I negotiated with Kobaya-*sensei* that I would participate in the *chadō* class in the same way as the rest of the practitioners. I talked to my mother about the practice style in Anbo-*sensei*'s class and she was nervous since many practitioners at Anbo-*sensei*'s *chadō* class knew about her and she believed that everyone would be checking my skill level. My mother was particularly nervous that I had not practised for such a long time and my skill level would be unacceptable for my *chadō* qualification. My mother said, 'I cannot believe that you are going to Anbo-*sensei*'s class with this horrible skill, I wonder what she and her practitioners will think of you. I am really embarrassed.' Because of these comments from my mother, I became stressed by my relatively new identity as a *chamei* student. *Chamei* is the level obtained when a practitioner has mastered at least 200 different kinds of tea procedures and holds

considerable knowledge about the historical background of utensils, flowers, calligraphy and *kaiseki* (Japanese cuisine). I received this rank one year before of my fieldwork since my grandmother as my head *chadō sensei* (teacher) kindly recommended me, so there was no official exam. Generally, practitioners receive this *chamei* level after practising for at least ten years of regular attendance. Indeed, I believed my Urasenke *chadō* skills were not high enough for me to be qualified as a *chamei* holder.

Anbo-*sensei*'s class always lined up the practitioners by *chadō* rank at the beginning and the end of the class on the tatami floor, thus every practitioner knew that I had my *chamei*. I was concerned about the quality of my *chadō*, that it was not good enough for my Urasenke *chadō* rank level. I was also worried that Anbo-*sensei*'s students would recognise that I was not a qualified *chamei* practitioner and criticise my grandmother, my mother and me. Thus, at the first stage of my fieldwork, I was initially overwhelmed by the pressure to perform my tea procedure well, so that it would not embarrass my mother's and grandmother's names. Therefore, I spent a considerable amount of time preparing myself for *chadō* classes, special tea gathering and *chadō* seminars at the first stage of my fieldwork. This identity as a *chamei* student was heavily linked to my identity as a daughter and granddaughter of *chadō* teachers. The first identity of a *chamei* would not have been so stressful if those two latter identities of daughter and granddaughter of *chadō sensei* (teachers) had not been constantly in my mind.

I read textbooks for several tea procedures and memorised each order. I prepared poems and proverbs for tea scoops and tea bowls so that I could present in front of practitioners. I also prepared the appropriate semi-formal clothing for general Urasenke *chadō* class and *kimono* for special tea gatherings or Urasenke *chadō* seminars so that my appearance would match that of the other practitioners. I tried to practise and use the appropriate phrases and words for *chadō* class. On one occasion a *chadō* seminar for university students was held in Kyoto. I performed a tea procedure in front of *gyōtei* (second highest ranked teacher in Urasenke), I was asked by Machida *gyōtei* why we have to pay attention to a tea whisk when we pour hot water into a tea bowl. I answered, 'in order to RINSE a tea whisk'. Machida *gyōtei* looked at me and said, 'what?' I realised that the phrase 'RINSE (Japanese use this English phrase as an imported word in daily conversation)' was not an appropriate word for *chadō* and practitioners had to use the phrase

'SUSUGU', which had exactly the same meaning but was not an imported word. I knew that 'RINSE' was not an appropriate phrase in *chadō*, but it was so hard for me at that moment to say 'SUSUGU.' This was because I had become used to speaking English in my daily life since I moved to the UK.

Thus, before my fieldwork, I was mostly identified as an anthropologist in the UK and I felt that I had become more independent and mature. Then, once I started my fieldwork, I had more occasions to be introduced and identified as a daughter or as a granddaughter and I felt that I was a more dependent and immature person. I felt that I was forced to adjust my identity from that of an anthropologist to that of a daughter or as a granddaughter. Therefore, in order to have rich data collection, as an anthropologist, I was forced to prioritise my identity as a daughter or granddaughter among my multiple identities. Soon after starting my fieldwork, I realised that my identity as a daughter and a granddaughter had become stronger than my identity as an anthropologist. I sometimes found myself paying more attention to being a good *chadō* practitioner in order not to embarrass my mother and grandmother, than being an observant anthropologist.

Although, as stated earlier, my informants identified me from the outset as the 'daughter of my mother' or 'granddaughter of my grandmother', I felt at the same time that they also clearly identified me as a '*soto no hito*' (outsider) rather than an '*uchi no hito*' (insider) at Anbo, Naraoka and Igarashi-*sensei*s' classes. My informants' attitude to me was different from their attitude to other practitioners. My informants, including all *sensei,* were using polite forms of speech. Hendry states that 'the use of polite language makes possible the maintenance of a certain distance between the conversants, therefore protecting the "inner feeling" from the probing of an outsider' (1995: 46). Additionally, there was clear distance in the physical domain; I saw that some of the practitioners were touching other practitioners' arms or hands while they were having a conversation. However, this physical closeness did not occur with me at the beginning of my fieldwork.

As many anthropologists, including Hendry (1995) describe, the Japanese clearly distinguish between the *soto* (outside) and *uchi* (inside) domains in their social relationship. These two domains are used for social classification, they define members of one's house as opposed to members of the outside world; and members of a person's wider groups, such as the community, school or place of

work, as opposed to other people outside those groups. A Japanese child is trained to use this categorization and trained to be open about his or her private feelings or concerns to only the *uchi* domain people[53]. For instance, children are told by their parents not to disclose their family matters to their friends; as for family members, even friends have been categorized as *soto*, as opposed to *uchi*. I was definitely identified as the '*soto no hito*' (outsider) of *chadō* classes during the first stage of my fieldwork; my informants did not discuss what was really going on in their *chadō* classes. They did not talk to me about sensitive matters such as a conflict between Kobaya-*sensei* and Anbo-*sensei* since I was still recognised as a '*soto no hito*'.

By the middle stage of my fieldwork, I got used to amending and redefining my multiple identities with my informants. At the *chadō* class, I was still recognised as the daughter or as the granddaughter by my informants but I could comfortably switch my identity to that of an anthropologist, both in the *chadō* class, after the class and even during the classes. I wrote up my observation notes in a notepad as soon as I got on the bus to return home. I noted what my informants were wearing, how many of them there were, what they were talking about. As an anthropologist, I wanted to produce rich data; *chadō* practitioners' life stories, thoughts and feelings about *chadō* on various levels. Therefore, I was concentrating on the data producing at the middle stage of my fieldwork. In order to do this, I worked hard at my Urasenke *chadō* skill level so that the high rank practitioners considered me as being on the same level as them. I was concerned that if I were not to reach a certain level of *chadō*, the practitioners would conclude that I was stupid and not want to share their personal life history or their thoughts about Urasenke *chadō*[54].

Still, it took a long time to prepare for attending *chadō* occasions. For instance, I was invited to a formal *chadō* class. I had to decide what kind of *kimono* to wear: formal or semi-formal *kimono*, summer or winter *kimono*. More importantly, I had to memorise the sequence for each guest: who was the first guest, the second guest, the final guest. I read the *chadō* textbook to remember every guest in the

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[53] This social classification is associated with notions of dirt and cleanliness as Douglas (1966) points out.

[54] This is a sensitive fieldwork task, since some practitioners tend to like sharing their stories more with lower status individuals. On the other hand, some practitioners like telling their life stories only to practitioners who are at their level.

proper order, how to walk on the *tatami* floor, how to be greeted, and how to eat. I had to read a textbook at least five times to memorise every sequence. It would not have taken such a long time to prepare if I had already had enough knowledge and Urasenke *chadō* skill. However, in order to gather sufficient variety of data from my informants as an anthropologist, I also had to challenge my identity from a simple *chadō* student, my real level, to a high-level *chadō* student, *chamei* student.

While I was focused on the data collection, I also wanted to make the time to hear my grandmother's point of view. When I was conducting my fieldwork, she was completely bedridden because on the pain in her legs, she was at the stage where she could not stand up and walk. Therefore, after a *chadō* class at either at Anbo-*sensei*, Naraoka-*san*, Igarashi-*san* or my mother's, I tried to spend my time with my grandmother in her bedroom. She always complained about the pain in her legs. Indeed, most of the time, she looked in pain and I could see that she was becoming weaker day by day. She sometimes skipped her meal due to the pain. I felt sincerely sorry for her and I wanted to help her to feel better. As I described in my autobiography, my grandmother was always kind and loving to me and I adored her from the bottom of my heart. Seeing the pain in my grandmother's face when I spent time with her I could feel my identity as a granddaughter expanding.

Gradually, by the end of the middle stage of my fieldwork, the task of preparing for my *chadō* class had become routine in my daily life in Akita and I became a little more confident of my *chadō* skills than during the first stage of my fieldwork. I got used to reshaping my whole identity; my identities, as an anthropologist, as a daughter, as a granddaughter and as a *chamei* student coexisted without considerable friction. This coexistence did not only derive from getting used to my identity work, but also from my informants' attitude. By spending many hours and many days with my informants doing participant observations, my informants started to ask questions about me. Several practitioners asked what I was doing and what I was studying and writing about. I explained that I was an anthropologist studying Urasenke *chadō* in the UK. Thus, by the middle stage of my fieldwork, I could recognise that some of my informants identified me not only as a daughter and granddaughter, but also as an anthropologist. Therefore, my informants' understanding of my identity as an anthropologist helped my identities to coexist without much difficulty.

By spending many hours with them, my informants were gradually identifying me as more of an 'insider' than 'outsider'. They seemed to assume my attendance at *chadō* class. I was questioned or commented about when I was absent from Anbo-*sensei*'s class. Moreover, they started to scold me as they did the other practitioners. Sakai-san shouted, 'work efficiently Chiba-*san,* bring the guests' sweets from the *mizuya* (kitchenette).' Terakado-*san* said to me with her deep voice, 'do not just stand there but clean other practitioners' utensils when you notice them. Then everyone can practise nicely, right?' My informants started to ask me to perform many tasks in the *chadō* class, such as carrying heavy kettles, washing other practitioners' tea bowls and serving green tea and soup during lunch time. They started to chat about their private life directly to me, about secret stories, and about *sensei*'s gossip. They started to touch my arm or hand while they were talking to me and started to use informal phrases; I could feel that I was recognised more as an 'insider' than 'outsider'.

As I described in the earlier part of this chapter, I finally started my personal interviews after ten months of living in Akita. However, I felt sometimes that my informants were reticent to talk about their own family backgrounds. On these occasions, I talked first about my own background or my grandmother's background. Some researchers including Ribbens (1998) and Harrison *et al.* (2001) argue that an interviewer's self-disclosure sometimes encourages an interviewee to disclose more sensitive issues. I sometimes revealed to my informants my *honne* (private feeling) perspective, such as how I struggled with the conflict between my mother and my grandmother in my daily life. By telling my own stories, my informants came to feel that they were in a secure position; they felt safe to talk about their own life stories with me. At the same time, some of my interviewees also asked me several questions about my life-course. For instance, Abo-san asked, 'do you have any plans for getting married? It must be about time for you to get married and settle down.'

After I started my personal interviews, I realised that my identity as a Japanese woman, a daughter and a granddaughter, had became stronger than my identity as an anthropologist. I found myself comparing my life as a Japanese woman to their life-courses and as a result became quite emotional. I questioned myself and asked whether I was following the right life-course. I questioned whether I had made the

right choice to study abroad. Should I not live in Akita city and take care of my grandparents? Should I not live in Akita and marry a local man and have a family? These questions shifted backwards and forwards in my mind while I was conducting my interviews. Since my feelings overwhelmed me, I concentrated on writing notes after each interview. The task of writing notes in my fieldwork diary after each interview helped me to calm down and restored my identity as an anthropologist. Thus, in the end, I had to force myself to emphasise my identity as an anthropologist because of my informants. Their influence had a strong impact on me as an anthropologist.

When I conducted my interviews at the last stage of my fieldwork, I felt that my informants identified me as an insider. Related to *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) notions, there are concepts of *honne* (private feeling) and *tatemae* (public behaviour) concepts in Japanese. As I described in my introduction, Japanese are disciplined to show their *honne* only to the people with whom they feel comfortable. To a certain extent, it is accepted that showing *tatemae* is more polite. Additionally, Japanese people show *tatemae* to strangers in order to protect their social status and private life. Therefore, there was a concern that gathering and obtaining the *honne* perspective might not be easy.

I am confident however that my informants showed their *honne* (private feeling) toward me[55]. My informants told me many confidential thoughts and opinions about their life-course and about Urasenke *chadō* society and practitioners. For instance, Yuka-*san* told me about her relationship with Anbo-*sensei*. Before the interview at her house, I saw her family *butsudan* (Buddhist altar). On the side of the altar I saw a boy's old jumper hanging on the wall. I immediately felt sorry that somebody in her family had died young. Yuka-*san* has practised her Urasenke *chadō* for over thirty years. She admitted to me at the end of her interview that she lost her son in a car accident around fifteen years ago. She described to me how painful it was, with tearful eyes. Yuka-*san* mentioned that Anbo-*sensei* called her almost every day to encourage her to come and practise *chadō*. At first, Yuka-*san* emphasised that she totally disliked Anbo-*sensei,* she said she believed that Anbo-*sensei* was *oni* (ogre). Yuka-*san* thought Anbo-*sensei* was an insensitive

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[55] The boundary between *honne/tatemae* is very subtle, but I thought my informants were showing their *honne* perspective when they were sharing their very private matters, or their secrets. I especially thought they were talking *honne*, when they asked me to keep their opinion quiet with other *chadō* practitioners.

sensei. However, eventually she realised that Anbo-*sensei* was really a wise *sensei* and that she had saved her life. Because of my informants' *honne* (private feeling) attitude toward me, I felt comfortable and became intimate with the practitioners. I felt that I belonged to their group. My identity as a Japanese woman, as an Akita woman and as a *chadō* practitioner, dominated my whole identity. Thus, at the end, I had to force myself to restore my identity as an anthropologist.

It was hard to say goodbye to my informants as I was emotionally engaged with them. Canon (1992) conducted her fieldwork with women living with and dying from breast cancer. Canon gave strong emotional support to her informants who were facing death, and as a result, she was emotionally engaged with her informants. Canon also described how hard it was for her to leave the field and say goodbye to her informants. Canon's example is very different from my examples on two counts. Firstly, Canon knew that it was the last time she would see her informants since they were facing death. On the other hand, I knew that I was going to see my informants because of my circumstances; my home town is Akita city and I am also an Urasenke *chadō* student. Secondly, Canon was emotionally engaged with her informants, not because of her social obligations, but because of the mental support she had given them. The emotion I felt towards my informants, on the other hand, was in terms of social obligations. Because of their influence, I had been made increasingly aware of my identity as a Japanese daughter and consequently, I felt bad since I was leaving my family in Akita and going back to the UK.

3.9.4 Analysis

So far, I have described my identity work and its transition. As we can see, I always had multiple identities and the content of my identity work changed depending on my circumstances. During the first stage of my fieldwork, I had to force myself to emphasise my identity as a daughter or as a granddaughter rather than as an anthropologist. However, soon I realised that my identity as a daughter and as a granddaughter occupied my whole identity since I was worried about my *chadō* skill. And in the final stage of my fieldwork, I had to reinforce my identity as an anthropologist since my identity as a Japanese daughter had expanded so much. This occurred because my identity was reflected by my informants. Because my informants identified me as an 'insider', that reflected back to me and

I shifted towards the identity of a Japanese daughter. Thapar-Bröckert and Henry point out that 'a researcher's identity is not only constructed and refashioned by ourselves but often by those we interviewed and questioned in the field' (2004: 367). Indeed, anthropologists are in a reflective position.

All the identity issues which I described above are related to the Japanese concept of 'self'. Japanese selves are not separate from society. The person's identity is constituted in and through social relations and obligations to others. In my case, every identity such as an anthropologist, a simple *chadō* student, a *chamei* ranked student, a daughter of a *chadō sensei* (mother) and a granddaughter of a *chadō sensei* (grandmother) were related to obligations to others, especially obligations as a daughter. So, being a daughter, what kind of obligation do I have to society? What does being a daughter in Japan mean? What is the Japanese way of thinking about daughterhood? There is even a phrase '*oyakōkō*' (filial duty), for the relation between a parent and a child and this phrase refers to a daughter's obligation to others in Japan. A 'good daughter' is associated with respect and conformity to social expectations. These expectations will include marrying an appropriate Japanese man at *tekireiki* (expected marriage age). This appropriate man will perhaps have a respected occupation such as medical doctor, lawyer or white-collar worker at a big company[56]. A 'good daughter' is expected to take care of her parents to a certain extent[57]. Social expectations slightly differ between the middle-class/working-class and metropolitan/provincial areas. For example, Metropolitan areas have a more liberal atmosphere than non-metropolitan areas like Akita[58]. Therefore, marriage does not involve the same degree of social expectation in Tokyo as in Akita.

My identity as a Japanese daughter who understands her obligation to others emerged strongly while I was conducting my interviews. I unconsciously compared my informants' life-courses with my own as a similar Japanese

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[56] This might be the typical expectation of middle-class parents.

[57] Generally, the first son has been expected to live together and take care of his parents. However, this role of the first son is becoming less strict and every child is expected to help care his or her parents.

[58] Many of my informants felt this different situation between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. One of my informants, Yamashita-*san* agreed with this point. She is originally from Kyushu, which is the very south part of Japan. She commented that she was liberal and did not choose to conform as a 'good daughter'. Thus, she decided to settle down in Tokyo and has been a professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and also interpreter of the Philippines language at NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) news, which is the equivalent of BBC news in UK.

daughter and questioned my duty to my family and society – my obligation to others. It was not difficult for me to understand this sense of obligation to others since I was raised by my grandparents, and parents in a society that places great value upon this duty. This issue might not be relevant to some non-Japanese, who were brought up in an individualistic society and were not raised to concern themselves with their obligations to others, such as '*oyakōkō*' (filial duty). Consequently, this concept of obligation to others was a key issue in my identity work. Because of this consciousness of my duties as a daughter, my identity as a daughter could subsume my other identities and as a result, I sometimes had to force myself to emphasise my identity as an anthropologist.

Additionally, it is worth remembering that due to the similar appearance between native anthropologists and informants, informants tend to take for granted that native anthropologists or native looking anthropologists are in the same group as themselves with same social expectations and obligations to others. As a result, native looking anthropologists such as Kondo (1990), Hamabata (1991) and Yano (2003) faced an identity crisis and ended up paying closer attention to their identity work. Moreover, in my case, my informants knew that not only my appearance but also my cultural background, Japanese, Akita and *chadō*, were similar to theirs. I received several comments such as, 'it will be so nice that you will come back to Akita city and work here otherwise who is going to take care of your parents?' I heard these comments because my informants assumed they knew my identity since they thought I was same kind of person as themselves. My informants rarely thought that I was native only in a 'secondary sense of the word' (Kuwayama 2004: 3): I as 'native anthropologist is not entirely native' (ibid.). I grew up mainly in Japan as a Japanese but I also lived for three years in the United States and four years in the United Kingdom. Additionally, I studied in Tokyo for six years. However, these parts of my background were sometimes completely ignored.

Power relations between the researchers and researched is another reason I had to emphasise my identity work. My informants' social position, allowed them, consciously or unconsciously to exercise power over me. As I described earlier, these power relations existed for five reasons: *sensei*/student status, senior/junior relationship, marriage status, financial situation and class hierarchy. In fact, my

approach to each interview[59] was affected by this seniority system. As Kato (2004:19) did for her fieldwork, I asked about 'their experiences and views on life as *jinsei no sempai* (mentor of life) as if asking for useful suggestions for my own life'. Literally, *jinsei no sempai* means seniors of life, and *sempai* denotes an honorific term for one's seniors. The *sempai-kohai* (senior-junior) relationship (Doi 1973) is prevalent among students in *chadō* society. Kato (ibid.) points out, 'this seemed almost the only strategy which the junior researcher could take, in order to let the senior informants talk about their private matters without offending them, given the golden rule of age hierarchy in Japanese society'. On the other hand, some of my informants paid the bill when we had an interview at the coffee shop, commenting that this was because I was still a student. I was from the simple middle-class and I felt the considerable power of upper-class informants since they are in the social position to easily influence my family members, including my grandparents, my parents, my brother and my future career in Akita city.

Indeed, my informants were in a more powerful position than me and this hierarchy was apparent during my interviews. I had an interview with Tsushima-*san,* we were not very different in age, but I felt the strong power hierarchy especially as she was the wife of Tsushima-*san,* who was recognised as being from a well known old elite family within upper-class in Akita city. Tsushima-*san* mentioned to me that she had to leave the interview as her child was already at home. Consequently, I had to adjust to her time schedule and eventually shortened the length of interview. On another occasion, an interview with Sato-*san* was conducted. She was a single retired junior-high-school teacher. Although Sato-*san* was not from the upper-class, and was not married, she felt that she was in a more powerful social position than me because of the position of '*sensei*' of junior-high-school and the seniority system. Right at the beginning of the interview with Sato-*san,* she was insistent that I read two books about *chadō* history, as she thought that these books were relevant to my research. Eventually, my position as a researcher became little different from that of a student.

Because of this power hierarchy, I as young, single student or anthropologist was

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[59] Thapar-Björkert (1999) also describes power relationships in terms of age difference; she discusses that her position as someone of a younger generation was less powerful than her interviewees'.

constantly criticised or advised about my life-course. For instance, Kodama-*san* commented after my interview, 'your mother will cry if you marry a non-Japanese man and live abroad. I hope that you are going to marry a Japanese man'. Kishino-sensei said, 'Since you were a little child you have been trained so well and I am sure that you are going to carry on your family tradition in the future'. Kodama-*san* was from the middle-class but she was already married and much more senior than me. On the other hand, Kishino-sensei was superior to me as a result of the upper-class, senior, married and *chadō sensei* position. At another time, Chida-sensei commented, 'you are not going to live abroad, are you? I am expecting you to come back to Akita and carry on *chadō* for your grandmother and mother, otherwise your grandmother will cry!' Chida-sensei was in her seventies, not married and originally from the lower class. However, she also exercised power over me because of the position of *chadō 'sensei'* and the seniority system. These comments were certainly another trigger for me to think about my life-course and negotiate my identity from an anthropologist to a Japanese daughter or granddaughter among my multiple identities. At the same time, there would have been fewer comments about my life course had I been senior in age, married and an experienced *chadō sensei* or if I was a middle-class researcher, researching lower class women in Akita city.

In addition, my mother was in a much more powerful position than me: the power relationship between my mother and myself was determined by teacher/student, mother/child and researcher/best informants dynamics. This was another reason why I had to engage with my identity work, especially at the first stage of my fieldwork. I had to stay on good terms with my mother because she was my best informant. I accepted my identity as a dutiful daughter by obeying her orders even in the private domain in order not to cause a conflict, and to obtain the qualitative data I needed. My mother also seemed to take this power relationship for granted with this power relationship since she tended to give the orders in my daily life. Again, this power relationship between my mother might be slightly different if I were married and had financial stability.

In fact, based on the power relationships experienced during my fieldwork, I challenge the western feminist epistemological position on the power of the researcher over the researched. I argue that a researcher's position can be less powerful than that of the researched (Moyser and Wagstaffe 1987, Hertz and

Imber 1995, Phillips 1998, Thapar-Björkert and Henry's 2004: 365, Skinner 2005). Feminist researchers have been particularly critical of the tendency to take for granted the privileged position of the researcher, and the potential exploitation of the researched (Oakley 1981, Cancian 1992, Stacey 1998, Coffey 1999). Crick comments that 'with the substantial inequalities of wealth and power which normally separate anthropologist and informant, combined with researcher's professional reasons for being in the field, speaking of "friendship", as we often do, is somewhat odd' (1992: 176). Some anthropologists describe how informants tend to be helpful to anthropologists, in that they try to give answers which correspond to what they think anthropologists want to hear.

On the other hand, Coffey comments that 'genuineness and reciprocity are vexed issues for the researcher' (1999: 41). 'Imbalances in degrees of trust, commitment and personal investment can lead to potentially exploitative or unbearable situations. These can occur on both sides' (ibid.). Bestor and his colleagues argue that 'many researchers pointed to their strong sense of gratitude and obligation to the informants and organizations that have made their research possible and discuss how they try to reciprocate in small ways without compromising their positions as objective researchers' (Bestor *et al.* 2003: 16). Some anthropologists including Roberts (2003: 311) and Mcconnell (2003: 133) describes how they offered some reciprocity by teaching English, interpreting English, editing manuscripts, giving lectures or doing newspaper interviews for their informants during their fieldwork in Japan. How did this apply in my situation? I was only asked once to check Kobaya-*sensei*'s English paper discussing *chadō*. My mother, actually never asked favours of me. The only thing that she asked was for me to marry a Japanese man in the future. This relates to the concept of obligation to others: being a daughter in Japan. So, with Kobaya-*sensei*, I was able reciprocate but with my mother I could not reciprocate. Can we say that if we reciprocate we have an equal power relationship? The answer is no, even if I was able to reciprocate, my informants were in more socially powerful positions than I was in many circumstances.

Morgan (2005) challenges the unquestioning use of feminist methodology in interviews and she argues that conversational interviews could disturb informants because they are left feeling alone with no emotional support after the interview. This is because, while a researcher has a rough idea of what he or she may be

willing to self-disclose and what kind of questions will be asked by informants, the informants have less of an idea what to disclose, and at the end of their disclosure, informants normally have no emotional support. Morgan (2005) proceeds to suggest, informants are invariably placed in a more vulnerable position than the researcher, despite feminist methodological claims of minimising power dynamics. Indeed, I agree that there are issues surrounding conversational interviews and my informants might also have felt that they did not have any emotional support after their disclosures. However, at the same time, I also received many unexpected questions during or after my interviews and I also felt that I had no emotional support. As seniors or mentors, they often questioned my life choices. These were emotional issues for me and I continuously questioned my status in life as a single anthropologist abroad. As a result, my position as a researcher was also a vulnerable one. Hence, the example of my fieldwork suggests that the researched exercise power; a researcher's position can be less powerful than that of researched.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter began by setting out several methodological issues: visiting interviewees' homes, paying the interviewees, gift-giving, language translation and interpretation. Then, I described the significant reasons for writing autobiography in my thesis. In terms of the ethical discussion of having key informants as family members, I pointed out the concern for the family honour in relation to the Japanese notion of *haji/meiyo* (shame/honour). I also raised the dilemmAnbotween my researcher's point of view and my informant's point of view. Further, I described how my relationship with my key informant, my mother is based on a complex power relationship as well as an affectionate relationship as Jones' (2004) described.

I finally addressed the importance of identity work (Coffey 1999: 5) in my fieldwork. I introduced the idea that a researcher has multiple identities and these identities are all fluid. My identity work was related to the action of accepting the posed identity, subsuming some identities under other identities, challenging my relatively new identity or returning to my original identity along with my informants. At the same time, I continuously reshaped and redefined my whole identity in order to successfully complete my fieldwork. This is because a

researcher's multiple identities are connected to each other, and if one of the identities is influenced by the relationship with informants, the rest of the identities have to negotiate their position inside the researcher's 'self'. Without my identity work, I could not gather deep qualitative data and if I did not pay attention to this task, I would lose my identity as an anthropologist and as a result, my fieldwork would not be completed.

I also argued that this identity work is a particularly significant issue for a Japanese anthropologist. Generally, the appearance and cultural background of native anthropologists is similar to the informants', and informants tend to take for granted that a native anthropologist belongs to the same group as them. By the same token, it is also easy for a native anthropologist to assume that his or her informants are in the same group as him or herself. Moreover, I challenged the feminist epistemological position of the power of the researcher over the researched. In the light of my own experience, I suggested that the researched exercised significant power. As for my conclusion, I want to insist here that my identity work occurred for two significant reasons. The first one was the Japanese concept of 'self' which is relevant to the notion of obligation to others. The second reason was related to power relationship between my informants and me. Furthermore, based on these factors, I emphasise that my identity work was not particularly related to the action of negotiating my identity with my informants. I did not negotiate my identity with my informants but I accepted my imposed identity. Rather, I constantly negotiated my multiple identities in my 'self'.

Coffey (1999:54) points out that 'the quality of data relies upon the establishment, development and critical reflection of ultimately personal relationships'. Befu (2005) comments that informants can refuse, can lie to anthropologists and we have no control over their actions. He further insists that the only thing that we can do is to establish the trust relationship between each other in order to produce the data. All my efforts to visit interviewees' homes, gift-giving, using Akita dialect and identity work were to build up and maintain a good relationship with my informants. Indeed, Hardcare (2003: 84) asserts that 'maintaining good relations in the long term is one of the obligations of fieldwork'.

In this chapter, I focused on methodological issues. By describing my careful attention to the method of data production, I support the quality of my data and its

discussion. In my conclusion of this methodology chapter, the importance of the length of my fieldwork should be pointed out. Without spending many hours and many days with my informants, I would never have seen my informants' *honne* (private feeling) perspective. My informants' approach eventually underwent a transition from *tatemae* (public behaviour) to *honne* (private feeling) at the end of my fieldwork. Hence, a full year of fieldwork was critical for me to do my data collection within a Japanese society. What kind of *honne* did I hear? In the following chapters, ethnographic descriptions and analysis are introduced, with particular focus on this *honne* perspective.

CHAPTER 4 Time, Space and the Experience of *chadō*

4.1 Introduction

In what kind of Urasenke *chadō* activities are practitioners involved? As I described briefly in my autobiography, there are several activities that comprise Urasenke *chadō*. These include tea gatherings called *chakai, kenkyukai* (*chadō* seminars) and *chadō* conferences. *Chakai* are normally held at least once every two months in Akita city and *kenkyukai* are organised once every three months. A head teacher, known as *gyōtei sensei,* from Kyoto gives these trainings sessions in Akita city. Some practitioners in Akita prefecture also attend special seminars at the main branch in Kyoto or at the local regional branch in Sendai city. There is also a *chikutaikai* (regional *chadō* conference), which is held once a year and practitioners gather on this occasion to meet the *iemoto* (grand tea master). However, practitioners' first and foremost contact with *chadō* is their *keiko* (daily practice) which is normally held once a week in the *chadō* classroom. Some researchers such as Kondo (1990) tend to highlight *chaji* (formal tea ceremony) as an aspect of *chadō*, but this *chaji* is categorised as the final goal of *keiko* (daily practice).

In this chapter, I will focus on practitioners' foremost contact with *chadō*, *keiko,* and describe what I saw, heard, tasted, smelled, touched and felt. This chapter aims to provide a detailed description of *keiko,* and provide an idea of what it is like to be at the *chadō* daily practice. This description of *keiko* is based on my fieldnotes and memory. My fieldnotes provides specific dates of my experience of *keiko* and, more importantly, they are an useful trigger to invoke the memory of my five senses of *keiko.* My memory is a composite based on my thousands of experiences of *keiko,* which included my physical and mental training.

Proust (1941) describes how explaining a single event is difficult for us. In his novel *Remembrance of things past,* he explains that when we describe one specific church, we have to have seen other different kinds of churches numerous times. By observing the various shapes of stained glass, roofs, alcoves, doors and windows in other churches, we can naturally see the uniqueness of the church we are describing and are able to give a detailed description of this church, including architectural style, image and atmosphere. He points out the critical evaluation of

a person's memory and explains that memory is constructed from a person's countless similar experiences. Indeed, my memory of *keiko* is inevitably shaped by repetition of *keiko*. Therefore, the description of *keiko* in this chapter is based on my numerous experiences of *keiko*.

Fabian (1983) draws attention to the notion of time between the self and the other: researchers and their informants, and questions describing ethnography in the present tense. Fabian (1983: 71) argues that writing ethnography in the present tense denies and ignores informants' own domains and their point of view. He claims that if anthropologists use the present tense, it is as if they claim informants' domain as theirs by manipulating the power relationship between researchers and informants. I do not have any intention of claiming my informants' domain as my own as a researcher's. I use present tense as a literary device, as it enables me to convey a more vivid impression of *keiko* than the past tense. This is because *chadō* is considerably sensitive to time. Tea procedures, utensils and decorations in the *chadō* classroom always reflect seasons and weather. More importantly, the meaning of *chadō* ritual changes with instant time and space differences. Indeed, present tense smoothly describes the process of how *chadō* space is created through ritual, which is different from mundane life. Therefore, in order to introduce a colourful description of *chadō* ritual time and space, I will use the present tense.

This chapter begins by conveying the *chadō* class atmosphere by illustrating one typical day of *keiko* (daily practice) at Anbo-*sensei*'s class. It then proceeds with a closer look at teaching style in Urasenke *chadō*. Then, I will point out that *chadō keiko* is relevant to Edith Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual. This description of *keiko* will make the understanding of gender and class discussions in the following chapters easier.

4.2 Start

As soon as I open Anbo-*sensei*'s door, I can smell the charcoal burning, I can hear the sound of stone rattling in the tin as someone is straining the *matcha* (green powered tea). There is another sliding door in front of the *chadō* classrooms. Even if I do not open it, I can hear who is in the classrooms. Practitioners come to *chadō* class on the same day of the week. Today is Saturday, so I guess that

Saturday class members, including Ando-*san,* Yushima-*san* and Yamato-*san,* are there. While I take off my shoes, Sugiyama-*san* also arrives. We take off our thick coats and gloves before entering the *chadō* classroom. Anbo-*sensei* said this is *jyōshiki* (common sense): she said this is so as not to bring outside dirt into the room.

Sugiyama-*san* and I open the second sliding door. There are *tatami*-laid rooms for classes, and a preparation place at the side of these rooms. This preparation room is called *mizuya* and most of the practitioners are already preparing utensils for today's class. Anbo-*sensei* changed her *tatami* mats just a couple months ago, before the New Year, so I can smell the light fragrance of the fresh grass from the classrooms. We soon do *goaisatsu* (greeting) to everyone we see, this is before the formal greeting, so Sugiyama-*san* does the informal *goaisatsu*: whenever she sees someone, she just gives an informal bow by bending her head slightly. Then soon, she starts to prepare herself for *chadō* class. She first puts on her white socks. This is the replacement of white *tabi* (split-toed socks) which practitioners wear with *kimono*. Then, she puts on *keikogi* (practice-outfit) on top of her clothes. This is almost like a strap on the chest which is the imitation of the front part of a *kimono*. We are not required to wear *kimono* but we are recommended to wear semi-formal western clothes. Thus, there are no practitioners wearing jeans and T-shirts. I also put on white socks and *keikogi.* By pulling the ribbon of my *keikogi,* my back and waist become straight. I immediately feel that I am in a different world from the comfortable living room in my house, and I find myself a little nervous but ready for my *keiko*.

Sugiyama-*san* places her *chadō* kits in the front pocket of her *keikogi* (practice-outfit). These kits includes a *fukusa* (small square silk cloth) to purify utensils, a *sensu* (folding fan), a *kashikiri* (pick) with which to eat sweets, a *kaishi* (folder of papers) to put sweets on, a *kojyakin* (folded damp cloth), and a *kobukusa* (square of cloth) used to protect utensils or one's hands. Sugiyama-*san* takes off her watch and wedding ring, and places them in her bag pocket. My grandmother has taught me that wearing jewellery, especially rings and watches, is strictly forbidden in *chadō*. She explained:

> You see, *chadō* utensils are art and they are all precious things, if you touch tea bowls or tea containers with jewellery on your body, this may damage the utensils, you may scratch them. You should also show great respect to the person who chose these utensils

> and to the host or hostess who selects these utensils. So, remember not to wear jewellery at *chadō* occasions.

Although these socks and *chadō* kits are compulsory at *chadō* class, some practitioners forget to bring them. The last time, Noguchi-*san* gave an apology to Anbo-*sensei* saying, 'I give my sincere apologies that today, I forgot to bring my socks, please forgive me for practising *chadō* without them'. Before apologising to Anbo-*sensei,* she looked extremely embarrassed, her face became pink and she was rehearsing what to say in the preparation room. I also forgot my socks once, I could feel myself panicking because I did not know what to do. I felt embarrassed just imagining myself practising the whole day without any socks. I calmed down and thought of an alternative solution. I knew that there was a convenience store at the corner of Anbo-*sensei*'s place. The *chadō* class had not started yet, so I ran to the store and bought white socks. I was not late for class and I was very relieved. My nervous sweat disappeared and I survived my *chadō* class without any embarrassment. Another day, I forgot to bring a *sensu* (folding fan). I became nervous again, I knew that it was a noticeable misdemeanour not to have *sensu.* This is because we always had to place it in front of our knee for the formal greeting to Anbo-*sensei*. I talked to Tagaya-*san* and she told me that I could use *sensu* which were in the lost property box on the shelf in the *mizuya* (preparation room). I immediately went to the box and found several *sensu*, so I borrowed one for that day. Tagaya-*san* apparently felt my nervousness, because she said, 'don't worry Chiba-*san*, many practitioners tend to forget to bring something, like, you and just borrow it from this box'.

4.3 Preparation

After Sugiyama-*san* and I have prepared ourselves, I see that everyone is preparing for *chadō* class. *Chadō* class is prepared by the practitioners not by the *sensei* (teacher). *Sensei* told me that preparation was also the part of the *benkyō* (study) of *chadō*. Anbo-*sensei* said:

> *Chadō*'s final goal is to organise a *chaji* (formal tea ceremony). If you want to become the hostess of *chaji,* you have to prepare everything from scratch. You have to clean the *tatami* floor, boil the water, strain the *matcha* (green powdered tea) and prepare the utensils. So, this preparation is part of your *benkyō* (study), you are not wasting time by doing this.

Anedeshi-san gives us the instructions. *Anedeshi-san* is translated as the big sister

disciple and is an experienced practitioner. Before Anbo-*sensei* comes to the classroom, every practitioner knows that *anedeshi-san* (big sister disciple) is in charge, so, everyone listens to *anedeshi-san*'s orders carefully.

Following *anedeshi-san*'s order, I strain the fresh *matcha* (green powdered tea) and put it into tea containers. I always enjoy this preparation. I like the fragrance and texture of the fresh *matcha*: tea is so soft and delicate. We have been told to form the *matcha* into a mountain shape inside the container so that when a host opens the lid, it is a reminder of the beauty of nature. Making a mountain shape with *matcha* almost makes me feel that I am back as a child playing with a sand pit in a playground. Meanwhile, Tagaya-*san* is making a fire; she puts a light to the charcoal on the stove for about fifteen minutes and once the charcoal becomes a fully bright red colour, she places it on the sunken hearth of the *tatami* room. Sugiyama-*san* is preparing hot water in the big kettle for every *chadō* practitioner. Because of this boiling kettle, all the *mizuya*'s windows become misty and we cannot see outside. At the other corner of the *mizuya*, Ando-*san* places *omogashi* (sweets) in sweet containers.

Anbo-*sensei*'s classroom is divided into six sections. Either *anedeshi-san*, Kobaya-*sensei* or Anbo-*sensei* is in charge of each section. Therefore, *anedeshi-san* asks practitioners to prepare their utensils in each section. I am asked to perform at one of these sections, so I quickly prepare my utensils. Anbo-*sensei* provides every utensil for *keiko,* there are so many varieties of tea bowls and tea containers. It is February, and I remember that *sensei* suggested last week that we should use a *tsutsu-chawan* (cynlindrical-shaped tea bowl). This shape of tea bowl is used especially for wintertime: the cynlindrical shape prevents the hot tea from getting cold quickly. I know that this *tsutsu-chawan* is nice to use in winter time, however, I also remember that the tea procedure is slightly different than with normal tea bowls. I think for a second whether I should be brave and use the *tsutsu-chawan.* However, my worry about this challenge to the usual procedure is too intense. In order to avoid the complicated tea procedure, I eventually choose the normal size tea bowl, the one which has a plum tree decoration. This decoration of a plum flower shows everyone's longing for spring on this very cold winter morning. With this tea bowl, I prepare a watered *chakin* (cotton), a *chasen* (tea whisk), and a *chashaku* (tea scoop). *natsume* (tea container), *kensui* (wastewater container) and other utensils are neatly placed outside of the

tearoom ready to be used.

After we have prepared everything, we are guided to sit and take a closer look at the hanging scroll and flowers in the *tokonoma* (alcove). Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* always select the hanging scroll and flowers for us. For the hanging scroll, Anbo-*sensei* selects a word, '*kissa ko*', meaning 'just have a cup of tea', and it was drawn by the monk Seino-roshi in Kyoto. The hanging scroll can be calligraphic or pictorial. Calligraphy is not based on current spoken Japanese, so, I often have difficulty reading and understanding the meaning of it. However, I am able to read and understand the meaning of today's calligraphy since this *kissa ko* was also selected in my *chadō* seminar in Kyoto before. *Sensei* in Kyoto explained to us that this proverb came from an episode of Chinese Zen monk Zhaozhou Wuzi (778-897) with Linji's (?-867). This proverb means that all people, regardless of where they come from, regardless of who they are, must drink a cup of tea. Anbo-*sensei* told me before:

> The hanging scroll is one of the most important things in the *chadō* room and this is the face of the host or hostess, we bow to show the gratitude to the person who drew this calligraphy and the host and hostess who selected this calligraphy.

Yushima-*san* gives a formal bow to the calligraphy and takes a closer look. She comments that the monk, Seino-roshi's calligraphy strokes are thick and strong, she bows again and goes back to her seated position on the *tatami* floor. Next to the hanging scroll, a flower graces the beautiful vase. The flower is dark red *tsubaki* (camellia), has large petals, a strong branch and leaves. Along with this flower, the *nekoyanagi* (pussy willow), decorates the same vase. This branch always has bean-size hairy buds and these indeed reminded me of a pussy tail. Looking at these flowers in front of me, I am surprised to find myself thinking that these flowers are really simple and beautiful. At the same time, I realise that perhaps I have been so busy that I just did not notice the beauty of these flowers in my mundane life.

4.4 Sōrei (formal greeting) with Anbo-*sensei*

Just before Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* arrive at the *chadō* class, every practitioner sits to order on the *tatami* floor. There are about 25 practitioners, there is only one male and the rest are females. The morning class starts from 9 am, runs for roughly three hours, and Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* always come on

time. By the time they come, the *chadō* classroom is already warmed up with the heat of the charcoal fire. Once the practitioners see *sensei,* we stop talking with our neighbours. I also stop chatting with Sugiyama-*san*; as soon as I see Anbo-*sensei*'s face, my back straightens, know that I have to behave appropriately. Anbo-*sensei* sits on the *tatami* floor and places her *sensu* (folding fan) in front of her. Then, everyone also places a *sensu* in front of their knees and bows to Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* at exactly the same time and same angle.

After the formal bow, Anbo-*sensei* gives a brief talk about what to do for *chadō* practice on this day as well as the schedule for the upcoming *chakai* (tea gathering), special class such as *chaji geiko* (formal tea ceremony class), or *kenkyukai* (seminar). She also tells us about an incident:

> Last week, Matsuha-san slipped on the ice on the road and hit her head right in front of our entrance hall. She went straight to the hospital and she was fine. But please be careful, it is so slippery at the moment. Wear a hat and gloves and please watch when you walk on the streets these days.

Therefore, everyone is warned to be very careful. Indeed, February in Akita city is still generally cold and the middle of the winter. The snow starts to freeze on the road and is particularly dangerous in the morning and evening, but the view from the windows is always beautiful. Outside Anbo-*sensei*'s windows, the snow is falling down silently and it decorates the trees and stepping-stones of her tea garden. While Anbo-*sensei* is giving a talk, nobody speaks, nobody looks her straight in the face, but keeps their eyes slightly lowered.

4.5 *Temae* (tea procedure) practice

After the greeting, we start practising *temae* (tea procedure). I go to my section, where I prepared my utensils. Since practitioners are allocated at six places, I have four practitioners at my place. While I perform my tea procedure as a hostess, one of the *anadeshi-san,* Yushima-*san,* becomes my *sensei* and the other three practitioners become my guests. Before I start my tea procedure, I again do a formal greeting with my direct mentor, Yushima-*san,* and to Anbo-*sensei.* I open the sliding door and enter the room with my *sensu* (folding fan) in front of me. First, I face Anbo-*sensei* the other room and bow, saying, '*sensei,* please teach me the *sokazari* (whole decoration tea procedure)'. Then, I change my body position slightly and look at Yushima-*san* and repeat my greeting again. Once I am back in

the preparation room, I pull my *fukusa* (silk cloth) from my pocket and place it on the left side of my waist. I know that once I place my *fukusa*, I become a hostess and I cannot stop my procedure. I feel a little nervous committing myself to this procedure but soon calm myself in order to maximise my concentration. I first bring the *tabakobon* (smoking box) and place it in front of the first guest. Secondly, I bring the sweets and place them in front of the first guest. While I am doing this procedure, Yushima-*san* comments, 'make sure that you enter *tatami* mat with your right foot'.

I retrieve and place the fresh water container in the open doorway and then place it in full view of the guests. In union, guest practitioners and I as the hostess make a formal bow. I enter the room with a tea bowl in my left hand (with a tea scoop, a tea whisk and a cotton cloth in it) and the tea powder container in the right hand. While I perform *temae* (tea procedure), Yushima-*san* guides me what to do and how to do properly. She says, 'ok, once you enter with your utensils, place them in front of the water container, and when you stand up, do not stand like a horse, but keep your body posture straight'. It is my fourth time to perform this *temae,* so I still am not sure of the right order of this *temae.* However, I know that *anadeshi-san* always explains the order of *temae* for practitioners who have just started to learn *temae.* Because of Yushima-*san*'s guidance, I find myself able to perform without fear.

While I am performing *temae,* a practitioner arrives at the *chadō* class. I can hear the sound of the sliding door being opened. Soon after, I can smell the strong flower perfume and I recognise immediately that it is Tsushima-*san*. Nobody except Tsushima-*san* wears perfume at the *chadō* classroom. I can sometimes smell the shampoo, hairspray or the *boshuzai* (mothballs) from *kimonos* of other practitioners, but these smells are so light that they can be recognised only by a person sitting right next to that person. I have been warned by my mother not to wear perfume in *chadō* gatherings since incense is used for these occasions and it is not pleasant to mix the smells of perfume and incense. As soon as I smell Tsushima-*san*'s perfume, I feel embarrassed, as if it is my problem. But nobody, including me, has the courage to advise Tsushima-*san*. This may be because we know Tsushima-*san*'s family are in charge of the Urasenke *chadō* Akita branch.

The tea procedure is shaped most by the four seasons. The position of the kettle is

different depending on the season. The sunken hearth is placed in a hole in the *tatami* floor in wintertime. In the summer, the sunken hearth is closed and a brazier, used to heat in the winter, is placed on a predetermined spot on the *tatami* floor. It is now winter, so every sunken hearth is placed in a hole and hot kettles are steaming nicely on the top of these in Anbo-*sensei*'s classroom. In the room next to me, Sugiyama-san is practising *dairo* style tea procedure. *Dairo* is translated as big hearth and *Dairo* style tea procedure is only performed in February. This month, a big hole for the kettle fireplace is used in order to heat the room, and the location of the hearth on the *tatami* floor is on the opposite side from where it would be in the normal winter tea procedure. In *dairo* tea procedure, the host or hostess stores the *fukusa* (silk cloth), on his/her right rather than, as is usual, on the left side of her/his body. In this tea procedure the fresh water container and waste water container are placed to the right rather than to the left side of the host. There is no room divider between *chadō* rooms at Anbo-*sensei*'s place. Therefore, every practitioner is able to see each other's *temae* (tea procedure). The *dairo* tea procedure seems to be very complicated, Sugiyama-*san* keeps commenting that this procedure is not simple and easy. Seeing this, I am quite relieved that I did not choose to practise *dairo* today.

While Sugiyama-*san* is performing her tea procedure as a hostess, guest practitioners start to chat about their classmate who has been absent for two weeks. Terakado-*san* says, 'I have not seen Hojyo-*san* for a couple weeks, I wonder what happened to her'. Then, Tagaya-*san* answers, 'she is apparently in Tokyo now with her daughter's family. Her daughter is expecting a baby and so she went to visit her place'. My guest practitioners are also making a small talk. They are discussing the person who passed away that week. Sato-*san* says, 'did you see on the notice board at the newspaper that Kajiwara-*san* passed away this week? I felt really sorry, she was such a lovely person, I was with her at the same tennis club. She was living quite close to your house wasn't she?' Matsuha-san replies, 'oh yes, she was, I often saw her walking in the morning. We used to have a nice chat on the street. I am going to miss her, it is pity that so many of my friends have passed away these past years'. I feel sorry listening to their conversations, Matsuha-san seems to realise that I have been listening to their talk and she apologizes for sharing her grief. She continues, 'oh I am so sorry to share these kinds of stories. You know, old people like us end up having these kind of talks all the time. You are still young, you should not have to end up listening to this kind of story, I

apologize Chiba-*san'*.

On the other side of the room, Ando-*san* and Yamato-*san* are talking about the practitioner, Kikukawa-san, who moved from Monday class to Saturday class. Ando-*san* asks, 'Yamato-*san,* do you know Kikukawa-san who just moved to our Saturday class a couple of weeks ago?' Yamato-*san* replies, 'yes, I know her quite well actually, her daughter and my son went to the same primary school. She is originally from Honjyo city (which is southern part of Akita prefecture) and her husband is a seaman'. Even Anbo-*sensei* talks about her private life. Anbo-*sensei* is discussing how she is looking forward to seeing her grandson tomorrow. She says that he is now a dentist and that this trip is the first time he has come home with his new wife. Anbo-*sensei* looks quite excited to see him. When I hear Anbo-*sensei'*s comment, I feel a little relaxed and close to Anbo-*sensei.* I feel that, after all, Anbo-*sensei* is also a sweet grandmother and not only a strict *chadō sensei.* This kind of chatting is always heard from all over the place. Thus, the *chadō* class room is not strictly quiet.

Having said that the class room is not quiet, I feel that Kodama-*san'*s sneezing touches my ears. I notice that she is the only practitioner who is coughing and sneezing. Kaneko-*san,* who sits next to Kodama-*san* whispers, 'are you OK?' Then, Kodama-*san* immediately replies, 'I am very sorry about my sneezing, I really have a bad *kafunsho* (hay fever) this year'. Kodama-*san'*s leans her head forward as if she tries to hide her face blushing with embarrassment.

At normal *keiko,* practitioners practise about three tea procedures, and each procedure normally takes about twenty minutes. Once I finish a procedure, I again slide into *tatami* room with *sensu* (folding fan) and greet Anbo-*sensei* and Yushima-*san* saying, 'thank you very much for mentoring me'. Then, soon after, Matsuha-san gives a greeting and starts to practise her tea procedure. Each practitioner practises *temae* (tea procedure) according to his or her own level, thus, Matsuha-san is practising her high level *temae.* As soon as I finish my greeting, I go to *mizuya* and quickly clean the tea utensils which I used for my procedure. I discard the waste water which is in the waste water container and wipe it with the yellow cloth. Then, I rinse the tea bowl and tea whisk with water and wipe them with the white cloth. *Anedeshi-san* taught me not to wipe the waste water container with the same cloth for the tea bowl and tea whisk. She added, 'you

want to keep the thing which goes directly to your mouth as clean as possible, you do not want to mix it with dirty one do you?'

After I finish cleaning my utensils, I go back to *tatami* room and watch Matsuha-san*'s temae* as a guest. I am surprised to see Matsuha-san's performance, her body posture is perfect. There is no waste in her movements. Even though she is around eighty years old, her back is straight, her shoulders are relaxed and her arms are not tense. I remember that my mother used to tell me that during my *temae,* the shape and position of my arms should be as though I were embracing a big tree trunk. Matsuha-san's arms' position are exactly as my mother said. The way she walks, sits and bows are totally artificial but natural, it is very elegant and smooth. I wonder when I will become like her and realise with regret that it will take at least ten years. Matsuha-san serves my first *okashi* (sweet). For today, *okashi's* name is *outeki* (bush warbler flute). In Japan, there is a flute, which looks like the shape of a bush warbler and this bird is well known as a reminder of the spring. Indeed, this *okashi* looks like an *outeki* for children and makes me want to hear the beautiful bush warbler's humming for spring. *okashi* is not sweet like chocolate, it has just the subtle hint of sweetness. After my *okashi,* Matsuha-san makes *koicha* (thick green powdered tea). This tea is a thicker version of the thin green powdered tea. Both thick and thin tea are made from *matcha* (green powdered tea) with hot water. The difference between them lies in the amount of tea water (gently stirred for thick tea, quickly whisked for thin tea). *Koicha* is very bitter and thick, I never get used to this taste and texture. In order to avoid tasting, I stop breathing and swallow this tea.

In the next room, Kobaya-*sensei* is overseeing preparation for the next tea gathering. Today, they are practising *koicha* (thick green powdered tea) procedure. During a thin tea procedure, each guest receives his or her own bowl of tea, but when thick tea is served, several guests share the same bowl. After drinking tea, each guest must clean the rim before handing the bowl to the next guest. Kobaya-*sensei* explains:

> The most challenging for us is performing *koicha-demae* (thick tea procedure) is that we have to make sure that all the guests can take exact three sips. It cannot be only two, nor four, sips. So, we have to put the exact amount of *matcha* (green powdered tea) in the tea container. Try it everyone.

Therefore, they are practising putting exactly twelve grams of green powdered tea

into a tea bowl for four guests and eight grams for three guests. She adds:

> This tea gathering is a wonderful chance for us to show the fruit of our practice. I want you to behave appropriately at the tea gathering. Yuzuno-*san*, I want you to dye your hair black, your brown hair is not appropriate, it is too brown. And make sure that you will wear a make-up with red lip stick.

Yuzuno-*san* looks quite surprised to hear Kobaya-*sensei*'s comment but she simply answers, '*hai* (yes) I understood'.

When I finish watching Matsuha-san's tea procedure, Anbo-*sensei* asks me what I want to do for my second *temae* for today's lesson. She asks me if I want to practise the *gozumi-demae* (charcoal procedure). I have been practising this *temae* for the last couple of months and I am at the stage of fixing my posture. While I am at the *mizuya,* preparation room, I quickly run through the order of this procedure in my mind. Since I know I am going to perform *temae* in front of Anbo-*sensei* but not *anadeshi-san,* I become nervous, I feel that my heart is beating fast.

When I start my *temae,* I am told that my toes are not in an appropriate position when I sit on the *tatami* floor. *Sensei* tells me that when I kneel and sit on the *tatami* floor, I should not cross my toes. She says, 'our toes' position can be seen by the entire audience. It is very noticeable, fix it as soon as possible.' Even though it is winter, I feel that I am very hot, my sweat makes my clothes damp. *Sensei* also points out that my body posture for *gozumi-demae* (charcoal procedure) is not at all appropriate. I am not relaxed, my shoulders and arms are too tense. Anbo-*sensei* explains that the reason for this is because I am left handed. All the tea procedures are designed for right handed people and I especially have a problem performing *gozumi-demae* since I have to use my right hand to pick up the charcoal with slippery *hibachi* (metal chopsticks). In order to achieve the appropriate body posture, I am told to have extra practice at home to get used to using *hibachi* with my right hand. I regret and am frustrated that I am left handed. At the same time, I know that there is nothing that I can do about it except practise using my right hand.

4.6 Finishing

As noon approaches, many practitioners start to wait for the last performers to

finish their tea procedures. Around twelve o'clock, Anbo-*sensei* says to everyone, 'ok, let's finish today's practice'. As soon as practitioners hear this comment, they quickly gather and sit in the same order as at the beginning of *keiko* and conduct a formal greeting with Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei*. Anbo-*sensei* comments about the next month's special class for *chaji* (formal tea ceremony). Kobaya-*sensei* explains:

> As you know, *chaji* is the formal tea ceremony. It starts with *kaiseki* (Japanese gourmet dishes), then thick tea and thin tea are served. There are several different kinds of formal tea ceremonies to suit the season or special occasion. Next month, we are going to practise *shogo chaji*, this is the formal afternoon tea ceremony. *Chaji* was rarely practised at the normal *keiko* but Anbo-*sensei* and I want to change this custom, we have decided to practise *chaji* more often in our daily practice. We think it is a very useful and important study for us. So, as we discussed before, I want you to discuss the content of *kaiseki*, I want you to decide who is going to make which dishes and please let me know this afternoon. Understood?

Then, Anbo-*sensei* bows, saying, 'let's finish, *arigato gozaimashita* (thank you very much)'. First the *sensei* stands up and the practitioners also gradually stand up, leave the classroom and move to the *mizuya* (preparation room).

As soon as *sensei* leaves the classroom, one of the *anadeshi-san*, Imai-*san* starts gathering the practitioners who are in charge of *kaiseki* (Japanese gourmet dishes). They discuss the content of *kaiseki* in one corner of the classroom. They are discussing who is good at cooking marinated, boiled, broiled foods, as well as liquid and solid foods. Imai-*san* is explaining that they should not serve too much food for *kaiseki*, she emphasises that Akita's *kaiseki* is almost double the size of Kyoto's. After the class, practitioners tend to be relaxed and they often continue chatting with their classmates. Imai-*san* is discussing the last *chadō* seminar in Akita city. Apparently, Yokota-*sensei*'s practitioners were on the stage and performed *temae* and they are questioning why she is not the committee member in Akita city, even though she has many practitioners. Then, Murakami-*san* replies with her small voice, 'well, I heard that this was because of Yokota-*sensei*'s background: you know she is the mistress, not the wife of Yokota-*san* in Ani town. This is why, she did not become a member'. Imai-*san* adds:

> Oh I see, the Yokota-*sensei* in Ani town, she is the real wife! Gosh, I thought they were relatives! No wonder these two women are not friendly with each other. When I went to the tea gathering last year, I saw both of them and they looked as though they really disliked each other.

I cannot believe what I have just heard. This seems to me like the soap opera stories which we hear on our TV shows. I am surprised that this is actually happening in Akita city. In the other corner of the room, Hojyo-*san* is whispering about her granddaughter to me. She says, 'please keep this quiet, I do not want my classmates to think that I am snobbish. But my granddaughter has just passed her Phd entrance examination for Tokyo University'. She continues, 'she is going to study at least three years more, what do you think Chiba-*san,* you are also doing your Phd aren't you?' She continues asking questions about Phd study and shares her happiness that her granddaughter is going to study in the most prestigious university in Japan.

After their informal chatting in the *mizuya,* preparation room, practitioners gradually start to take off their *chadō* kits and their *keikogi* (practice-outfit), and put them back in their *chadō* kit bag. I also take off my *keikogi* and white socks; as I untie a ribbon of my *keikogi,* my back and waist become loose again and I feel relaxed physically and mentally. Sugiyama-*san* wears her wedding ring and watch again and switches on her mobile. While they are preparing to leave the classroom, I hear a comment from Ando-*san,* 'gosh, we practised seriously hard today didn't we? I was so nervous when Anbo-*sensei* was checking my performance'. She looks tired but her eyes are shining, she opens the two sliding doors and leaves the classroom with a happy face. Sugiyama-*san* says with a smile, 'I am tired now, I was really concentrating on my new *temae,* I may have a nap this afternoon'. Practitioners wear their thick winter coats again and leave Anbo-*sensei*'s entrance hall, saying, '*osaki shitsurei shimasu* (excuse me for leaving ahead of you)'.

4.7 Analysis

4.7.1 Teaching style Emphasis on bodily memory

While we were practising, nobody was reading *chadō* textbooks or taking notes. Moreover, asking *sensei* questions was not encouraged. This preference was apparent in Yuzuno-*san*'s reaction to Kobaya-*sensei*: Yuzuno-*san* did not ask why she had to dye her hair but simply accepted *sensei*'s suggestion. We were strongly recommended to learn *temae* through our body but not through our mind. Thus, *sensei* let practitioners learn *temae* through bodily discipline. Through this bodily

discipline, *sensei* told us that practitioners could cultivate their mental discipline and eventually acquire spiritual strength: the world of *mu* (emptiness), which is recognised as the most desired spiritual condition for practitioners in *chadō*.

This concept of bodily and mental training in *chadō* is derived from Zen Buddhism. In *chadō*, practitioners are trained to keep their mind on the concept of *mu* (emptiness or nothingness) and Zen Buddhism believes that enlightenment is *mu* (Harvey 1990, Keown 1996). Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* emphasised that mu was very difficult to maintain but once one can do so, one's spirit become totally free and powerful. Anbo-*sensei* explained:

> In our daily lives there are so many things to worry about and think about, you think about your breakfast, your work, and your family. Of course we are human beings and we are always thinking. So, it is actually very difficult to keep our mind in *mu* (emptiness or nothingness) condition. This means that we are not even able to think about what is the next tea procedure. We cannot think 'oh, do I have to pick up the kettle or do I have to pick up the *fukusa* (silk cloth), first?' In order not to worry about such things, we have to learn the tea procedure not with our mind but with our body. We have to let our body remember *temae* (tea procedure). This condition can only be reached by repeated practice. Therefore, we have to practice the same tea procedure many times. First you start thinking about the order of procedure, but then gradually you tend not to think about what you should do next. Indeed, your body remembers it. Then by this stage, your mind becomes *mu,* your mind becomes empty. In fact, when you are in this stage of nothingness and hosting a tea gathering, you can really afford to pay more attention to your guests and consequently you will become a great hostess.

Most *chadō sensei* and text books had a similar explanation of *mu* and all of my *chadō* teachers taught me that this mental training only emerges through bodily discipline.

Practitioners learned bodily discipline through observation, imitation and repetition. At the first stage, practitioners observed their senior level practitioners' tea procedure carefully. Observing Matsuha-san 's *temae* was part of my first stage of acquiring body discipline. While observing *temae,* practitioners also had to pursue their guest role as I did at Matsuha-san*'s temae*; greet the *teishu* (host or hostess) admire utensils and take sweets in an appropriate way. Therefore, the first stage of observation was not easy, I had to concentrate on two performances, both that of an observer and that of a guest.

Through this observation, we learned the order of the tea procedure and, at the second stage, we were recommended to imitate other practitioners' *temae*. After

many observations, *sensei* recommended that practitioners perform the tea procedure. At first, she explained every step in the tea procedure while practitioners were performing. This was the case when *anadeshi-san,* Yushima-*san* mentored me. At the first stage of learning the new procedure, *sensei* also tells us the meaning or the origin of the tea procedure. When I practised the *gozumi-demae* (charcoal procedure) the first time, Anbo-*sensei* explained as follows:

> This procedure is actually not the procedure for making tea but it is the procedure for preparing to make tea. This procedure is normally held between the thick tea procedure and thin tea procedure. You see at this time, the charcoal fire may get small. In order to serve a hot and delicious tea, we have to fix the fire.

This explanation of *temae* made it easier for me to perform and memorise *temae,* and I could understand the meaning of each body movement of my *temae.*

At the middle stage, *sensei* suggested a way of memorising the order of the tea procedure. For *gozumi-demae* (charcoal procedure), *sensei* gave me a little trick to memorise the tea procedure: 'when you do this *temae*, try to whisper to yourself "*ha kan bashi kogo kama no futa*"'. *Ha* is brush, *kan* is a metal tool to pick up the kettle, *bashi* is a chopstick, *kogo* is an incense container and *futa* is a lid. This phrase was so musical that I did not forget to pick up every utensil in order. Memorising and performing *temae* was not easy work to do. This is because there are over two hundred *temae* that a single practitioner can master (Plutschow 2001: 72). Among these two hundred procedures, one procedure can be distinctively different from another: from a charcoal procedure to a simple tea making procedure. Thus, among these *temae,* practitioners rarely get confused. However, there are some tea procedures that are very similar to each other and are easier to confuse. For instance, *chashaku kazari* (tea scoop decoration procedure) and *chasen kazari* (tea whisk decoration procedure) differ simply in whether to use the *kobukusa* (square of cloth) for the tea scoop or not.

As the last stage of bodily discipline, *sensei* fixed practitioners' body posture and this was the stage at which I performed the *gozumi-demae.* Anbo-*sensei* commented that this bodily discipline includes the bodily control of its own coughing, sneezing and smell. This was the reason that I found Kodama-*san*'s sneezing was quite noticeable. *Sensei* advised to be mindful of our health if we want to perform *temae* well. Additionally, she told us to be aware of our diet

before practice in order to control our body smell during the *keiko*: avoid eating food such as garlic, which may cause a strong body smell.

Once practitioners reached the appropriate level to perform the procedure smoothly with appropriate body posture and body control, they were told to practise the same procedure again and again. At this time, practitioners were not supposed to think about the order of the tea procedure and were supposed to have acquired sufficient mental control. Again, achieving mental control was quite hard for me since I also had to get used to the specific smell of charcoal in *gozumi-demae.* Charcoal produced a gas when it burned and this gas caused a serious headache which lasted a whole day.

So far, I have explained how practitioners acquire the bodily and mental discipline and we can see that it is not simple to accomplish these disciplines. However, our *sensei* believed that *temae* (tea procedures) which we remember through our body is harder to forget than *temae* which we remember through our mind by reading *chadō* text books; this teaching style seems to be related to Connerton's (1989) discussion of habitual bodily activities. Connerton (ibid.) highlights the concept of bodily memory and emphasises that the body has an ability to learn and remember through habitual activity. Connerton (ibid.) gives the example that we remember how to type not because we think about the place of each letter among the keys, but because our bodies have a 'knowledge bred of familiarity in our lived space' (Connerton 1989: 95): our fingers know where the letters are without our having to think about where they are. His argument, and especially this example of typing is very relevant to Anbo-*sensei*'s instruction for learning *temae,* she always insisted to practitioners, 'do not think, but just let your body remember'. Before the *temae* performance on the stage, she used to encourage us, 'don't you worry, even if you are so nervous about performing in front of so many people, your body, your hand remembers it. So, be relaxed and calm yourself'.

Furthermore, while Connerton (1989) sheds light on the strength of bodily memory, he also questions the dominant idea of literary texts. Howes (2005) also asserts that bodily senses are more respected than literary texts in some societies. Indeed, these arguments are applicable to *chadō*'s training style. As described before, reading *chadō* text books and taking notes are not allowed in the *chadō* room, *sensei* strictly encourage us to learn *chadō* through our body. We have to

observe *chadō temae* through our eyes, sense and memorise the appropriate temperature of hot water through our skin, listen and memorise the sound of the boiling kettle through our ears, imitate, repeat and remember *temae* through our whole body.

4.7.2 Ritual[60]

Keiko comprises numerous rituals. Before the class started, practitioners tried to purify themselves from their mundane lives in the *mizuya* (preparation room). At the entrance hall of the *chadō* classroom, practitioners took off their shoes and coats in order to not bring outside dirt into the *chadō keiko* world. Then, practitioners took off their jewellery and instead put on their white socks, *keikogi* (practice-outfit), and *chadō* kits such as *fukusa* (silk cloth), as a purification tool. Through these actions, practitioners were purifying themselves and leaving the dirt from the mundane lives both mentally and physically. After the formal greeting with Anbo-*sensei,* the *tamae* (tea procedure) practice began and purification was heightened by incense burning. The smell of incense symbolised that the whole *chadō* room was purified. This was the reason that wearing perfume was forbidden in the *chadō* room.

Through *keiko,* practitioners encountered the repetition of *chadō*'s rituals and symbols. Practitioners continuously made a formal greeting by placing fans in front of them. *Sensu* (folding fan) symbolised a boundary. *Sensei* (teacher) taught me that there was always a boundary before the greeting but after the greeting, we always placed the *sensu* at the back of our bodies and this movement symbolised that the boundary was gone and everyone's heart was open to having tea together. Ishi-*san* gave her formal greeting to the hanging scroll using her fan. At every *chadō* class, all practitioners were trained to give a formal greeting to the hanging scroll, this was because this hanging scroll symbolised the face of the host or hostess. They always placed *fukusa* on the left side of their body when they performed *temae* (tea procedure) and this position of *fukusa* symbolised that he or

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60 As Bowie (2000: 154) points out, 'there is not, a single types of activity called "ritual" that is instantly and universally recognizable'. Within these numerous discussions and definitions of the notion of ritual, I consider the concept of ritual with Tambiah (1979)'s approach. According to Tambiah, ritual is structured by symbolic communication. 'It is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition)' (Tambaih 1979: 119).

she was the host or hostess in the tea ceremony. Whenever practitioners performed the thin powdered tea procedure, they brought a smoking box. Smoking was actually not allowed in the room but this container symbolised the informal, relaxed atmosphere. Kondo points out that '*chadō*'s symbols and ritual "message" can be a repetitive sequence and this homology of code among the sensory modes is one of the major sources of *chadō*'s symbolic efficacy and power' (1985: 301).

The exact meanings of *chadō*'s ritual and symbols were ambiguous. Based on his fieldwork among Ndembu in Zambia, Turner (1969) emphasises the multivocality or ambiguity of symbols, showing how symbols simultaneously contribute to the maintenance of society, and respond to existential problems. Turner (ibid.) points out that the dominant symbol such as Ihamba pole shrine (1968: 183-185) contains complex and divergent meanings. Bloch (1986) also asserts that the meanings of ritual and symbols tend to be ambiguous in order to sustain the status hierarchy of a society. He explains that these meanings are indistinct since these are represent of the contradicted society. With his fieldwork data of circumcision ritual in Madagascar, Bloch (1986: 195) further argues that the message of ritual and symbols cannot be maintained by a simple statement including written statement. This argument of Bloch's seems to be related to *chadō*'s ritual and symbols. As described before, textbooks which help to explain the meaning of symbol and ritual in *chadō* are not encouraged in *chadō* classrooms. On the other hand, *anedeshi-san* or *sensei* did not explain all of the meaning of symbols and rituals of *chadō*. Therefore, not many people knew the exact meaning of every ritual in *chadō*. For instance, I did not know that the meaning of *sensu* (folding fan) and *fukusa* (silk cloth) is that they represent heaven and earth, until I asked my mother privately. I still do not know why we are not allowed to step on the *heri* (boundary) of *tatami* mat.

In a further theoretical discussion of ritual and symbols, Edith Turner (1992) argues the strength of the spiritual power of ritual. Based on her fieldwork on spirit-workers among the Ndembu, Turner (1992) criticises the history of anthropological work. According to Turner (1992: 2), the ethnography of ritual was usually presented from a positivist point of view, 'as if it had been witnessed from the outside'. In contrast to a positivist perspective, she describes the concept of ritual from an insider's view and argues that the essential context of the ritual is that it provides spiritual power. Turner (ibid.) experiences the healing ritual and

asserts that she saw a harmful spirit extracted from a sick woman's back. She further describes that this sick woman recovered completely from her illness and went back to her daily life. Consequently, Turner (ibid.) argues that ritual provides spiritual strength to participants and enables them to tackle their circumstances.

Similarly to Turner (1992), I also participated in and experienced *chadō* ritual myself. From my experience, it seems that Turner's ritual argument is relevant to *chadō* ritual. Practitioners appear to believe that they derive spiritual improvement through conducting *chadō* ritual. Moreover, this spiritual improvement relates strongly to practitioners' bodily and mental discipline. As I discussed, Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* insisted that practitioners cannot achieve the spiritual discipline without the other two. *Sensei* explained the process to acquire spiritual discipline and improvement:

> After you practise one tea procedure countless times, you realise that you do not have to think anymore about the order of tea procedure. Your body really remembers it. Then your mind sometimes starts to think about something else like your evening dinner and shopping. Here, you will try not to think anything, calm yourself and simply concentrate on yourself. Indeed, this mental control is extremely hard and time consuming. However, once you accomplish it, you feel peace in your soul and you are in the domain of enlightment. And eventually you become a spiritually powerful person.

Through this bodily and mental discipline, I feel that my body posture and mental feeling is totally under control and consequently, I also feel that I become spiritually strengthened in my daily life. Even if I encounter depressing or difficult situations, I feel that I can conquer them through my spiritual strength acquired from *temae* (tea procedure) practice. This spiritual improvement seems to be the reason that practitioners leave the classroom with happy faces. There was not a considerable difference in their appearance before *keiko*, but afterwards practitioners' expressions changed: Ando-*san* and Sugiyama-*san* looked tired but satisfied with something that they had achieved. Therefore, discussing from the insiders' point of view, I argue that there is a sense of spiritual improvement from attending this *chadō* ritual.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I described in detail the atmosphere of *keiko* as experienced through my senses: the smell of *tatami* floor, fresh green tea, Tsushima-*san*'s perfume and charcoal; the taste of tea and sweets; and the sounds of the sliding

door and kettle. By focusing on one typical *chadō keiko* (daily practice), I explained *chadō*'s way of teaching and argued that the emphasis on bodily memory of *chadō* is related to Connerton's (1989) discussions. In *chadō keiko,* there were numerous restrictions in *chadō* and I pointed out that *chadō keiko* starts and ends with rituals and symbols. At the same time, I argued that *chadō keiko* was relevant to Turner (1992)'s discourses on spiritual power in ritual and I support this argument by describing my own experience of performing *chadō* ritual.

I also described that the *chadō* class room was not quiet, rather, practitioners told many stories about their daily lives: neighbours, friends, colleagues, new practitioners. Anbo-*sensei* was discussing her grandson and Hojyo-*san* was proudly talking about her granddaughter. Among their conversations, I heard many stories related to gender and class issues such as the distinction between women and men and between women and women. What exactly were they discussing? Moreover, does the spiritual improvement described above relate to these issues? Do practitioners think that *chadō* can lead to a more elevated position in Akita city? Do women feel empowered in their social position by engaging Urasenke *chadō*? I will examine these questions further in the following chapter on gender.

Chapter 5 Gender

5.1 Introduction

At present, there is a great deal of news coverage about the future heir to the Japanese throne. Until September 2006, there was no male heir to the Crown Prince, Naruhito, the first in line after his father Akihito. The government was discussing whether to revise the Imperial Household Law and allow an empress to rule Japan in the future. This debate became less urgent when the Prince's younger brother's wife gave birth to a son. However, newspapers and journals continue to debate whether, in Japan's male-dominated society it is time for the law of succession to change, allowing women to succeed to the throne in the future. Because of these discussions, gender related issues have become very topical in Akita households.

One of the aims of this thesis is to explore gender issues among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. I will focus on gender dynamics in this chapter and provide an answer to my first research question: what does Urasenke *chadō* tell us about women's social standing in Akita city and how does *chadō* improve it? In order to pursue this aim, the women's voice in Akita city, and my participant observation will be highlighted. This participant observation took place not only in *keiko* (daily practice) but also during other occasions such as *chakai* (tea gathering), *chadō kenkyukai* (seminars) and *chadō* conference. I will also examine my ethnographic data in relation to Bourdieu's (1984) theory of capital. Additionally, I will argue that Edith Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual is relevant to practitioners' empowerment.

Firstly, I will demonstrate how women's roles are clearly distinguished from men's roles in Urasenke *chadō*. Secondly, I will argue that women are also undervalued outside of Urasenke *chadō*. Finally, I will point out that women have a sense of gender empowerment through involvement in *chadō*. This gender empowerment evolves through women's conversion of capital such as economic capital into cultural capital, or cultural capital into symbolic and economic capital. With *chadō* practitioners' stories and my participant observations, I will show how *chadō* has been used as a tool for gaining a sense of empowerment in Akita city. Before exploring my ethnographic findings, I will first introduce several discourses which are related to gender issues in Urasenke *chadō* and in Akita city.

5.2 Discussion of gender issues in Urasenke *chadō*

5.2.1 Many female practitioners

Historically Urasenke *chadō* was only for men, especially for nobles, merchants and samurai class. As I described briefly in Chapter One, it was only after the Meiji period (1868-1912) that Urasenke *chadō* allowed women to practise *chadō*. Ennosai, the thirteenth generation *iemoto* (grand tea master) of Urasenke, taught war widows (Sen 1979: 8). Kato (2004) argues that Urasenke opened the door to women after the Meiji period (1868-1912) only because of financial considerations. The Meiji Restoration in 1868 eliminated the patrons who had provided the financial resources for Urasenke for more than 300 years, and questioned the continuation of the system and culture of this feudal aristocratic pastime. In order to survive in the new era, Urasenke had to widen the study of *chadō* to other segments of the population (Sen 1979: 7). Thus, Urasenke *chadō* selected women. In the late nineteenth century, Urasenke introduced *chadō* into the school curriculum in girls' secondary schools (Sen 1988: 9). After the Second World War, Urasenke *chadō* values were once again questioned by the challenge of Western superiority and a new democratic society. Consequently, Kato (1981: 157) points out, Urasenke invited non-elite participation and encouraged support from the newly emerging business firms, who provided women workers with the opportunity to take *chadō* lessons. Furthermore, as Verley (1989) argues, in the 1960s, the availability of time-saving electrical household appliances made it possible for housewives to have more leisure time. As a result, many housewives started to practise *chadō*.

5.2.2 Male superiority in *iemoto* system of Urasenke *chadō*

Once a person becomes a practitioner of Urasenke *chadō*, he or she has to follow Urasenke social structure: the *iemoto* system. This term *iemoto* is not only used to refer to a grand master of a school of art but is also used to refer to the structure and system of a school of art in Japan. Mori (1992) explains that the *iemoto* system creates a hierarchy among students and teachers as follows: (i) *iemoto* (head of school, the grand tea master), (ii) *gyōtei* (professional persons given a title and position who teach and serve the grand tea master at his discretion) (iii) *mizuya* (persons who are trained in *chadō*, who serve in the grand master's house as

disciples)[61], (iv) lecturers, persons hired to teach in several locations in the Urasenke system, (v) teachers, persons who received licenses to teach in their homes or elsewhere with permission of the *iemoto* (grand tea master) and (vi) Students, anyone studying *chadō*. At each level there are students directly attached to any of the individuals. These relationships are built on a fictive kinship framework and stress loyalty to one's teachers and to the grand master at the top (O' Neil 1984).

Sen Soshitsu (1956-) is the *iemoto* (the grand tea master) of Urasenke school of tea. He is the sixteenth generation descendant of Sen Rikyu (1522-1591). The term *iemoto* refers to 'the head of a family or head master transmitting the orthodox traditions of the school in the areas of learning, religion, or light cultural accomplishment and martial arts' (Kitano 1970: 5). Nishiyama (1982) and Varley (1989) remark that the *iemoto* has absolute authority to grant the right to teach the school's methods. Varley (1989: 173) describes *iemoto*'s authority as follows:

> This right is usually given in the form of the 'name-taking', in which a student receives a professional name from the *iemoto* in order to become a teacher. The *iemoto* retains exclusive control over such matters as admissions to the school and public performances, and he has the authoritative right to grant permission to use certain tangible and intangible properties of the school, including special utensils, costumes, rituals and titles.

Within this *iemoto* system, Urasenke *chadō* does not accept females as *iemoto, gyōtei* and *mizuya.* Females can only become lecturers, teachers or students which are the lower hierarchy levels of the *iemoto* system. The main branch of Urasenke *chadō* always tries to emphasise male superiority as 'traditional'. *Iemoto* system also exists in different schools of art in Japan. But unlike Urasenke *chadō*, some of the other traditional cultural practices such as *ikebana* (flower arranging) accept females as grand masters. As in Urasenke *chadō*, the majority of *ikebana* practitioners are females and this practice allows a woman to become the head of school. However, Urasenke *chadō* still keeps the position at the top of the hierarchy only for males even though the majority of practitioners are now females. Thus, it appears that women are undervalued in Urasenke *chadō*.

Does this kind of gender inequality exist only in Urasenke *chadō*? Nakane (1970) argues that a similar version of Urasenke *chadō*'s *iemoto* system can be seen in Japanese society. This is because this *iemoto* system is closely related to or derived

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[61] There were around 26 *gyōtei* and 10 *mizuya* in 2004 (Urasenke Konnichian 2004).

from the Japanese concept of *ie*. The *ie* defined as the central authority of the household is 'generally understood to be a group of people, many but not all of them kin, the majority of whom reside nearby and share social and economic activities' (Anderson 1991: 78). The *iemoto* is the larger version of *ie*'s group of people with emphasis on an 'educational system with economic functions (Anderson 1991: 80). *Ie* sometimes includes non-kin such as apprentices. The *iemoto* also extends its membership to instructors and their students. Anderson (1991: 80) argues that the two only differ in that 'the *ie* exists to perpetuate itself biologically and economically, while *iemoto*'s main function is to preserve an art form'. Although the extended family, the *ie* structure was officially abolished at the end of the war, Nakane (1983: 260) points out that it is a form of group consciousness that survives (with much of the nationalism removed) as the structural basis for contemporary Japanese society. As pointed out before, women seemed to be undervalued in Urasenke *chadō iemoto* system. Does this mean that women are also undervalued in Japanese society and in Akita city where *ie* structure still remains?

Rappaport (1968, 1999) discusses the interesting relationship between ritual and society based on his study of Tsembaga Maring in highland New Guinea. 'The Tsembaga Maring are horticulturalists and pig-raisers. They are considered warlike and frequently feud with neighbouring groups' (cited in Eriksen 2000: 217). Rappaport (1968, 1999) points out that there is an intrinsic functional link between war activities and the ritual cycle of the Tsembaga; pig sacrifice to the ancestors and lavish ceremonial gift exchange. He emphasises that ritual and society always interact. He further describes this relationship of ritual and society in his book of *Ritual and Religion in The Making of Humanity* and argues that there are various different types of interactions. According to Rappaport (1999), ritual can be the reflection of the society. He further argues that this way of reflection of ritual can be parallel or totally opposite to the phenomena of social structure (1999: 256). For instance, if the society is a male dominant society, the ritual can be reflected to be as simple as male dominance order or totally opposite as of female dominance order. He also points out that ritual can be the model of society and sometimes it is the challenge to the new world. As I discussed in the previous chapter, *chadō* is comprised of numerous rituals and symbols and *chadō* itself is ritual. As Rappaport (1968, 1999) argues, can we also state that *chadō*'s ritual related to Akita society and if so how does it reflect society?

5.3 Discussion of gender issues in Akita city

Many sociologists including Smith (1987), Brinton (1992) and Roberts (1994) argue that women are undervalued in Japan. Moreover, Takamine (2005) and Matsuta (2005) argue that women in Akita city are undervalued. Takamine (2005) is the director of the Gender Division Akita Prefecture Government and she emphasises that the gender equality movement is considerably less advanced in Akita city than in metropolitan areas like Tokyo. In terms of education, labour market and household, women are greatly disadvantaged in Akita city. Men have more chances than women to obtain higher levels of education, women's average income is about two thirds that of men's. Additionally, more women tend to remain within the household as housewives.

In terms of education, Liddle (2000: 196) argues that 'women's access to educational opportunities has not been equal to men's at higher levels' in Japan. Indeed, I agree with her comment. In 2002, 97.4 of males, and 97.9 percent of females graduated from high school in Akita Prefecture (Educational Division Akita Prefectural Government 2004). In the same year, 31.1 percent of male and 23.0 percent of female high school graduates went to four-year-college in Akita Prefecture[62] (Gender Division Akita Prefectural Government 2004: 18). Although there was not a great percentage difference between male and female attendance at high school level, the difference increased at the four-year-college level.

How many women are actually engaged in paid employment in Akita city? *Kokusei Chosa* (national census)[63] showed that out of the whole population over 15 years of age in Akita city, 46.3 percent of women and 73.0 percent of men were engaged in paid employment in 2000 (Statistic Bureau Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005). This figure includes part time workers[64] (ibid.). In terms of the labour market, Liddle points out that 'while male workers in privileged positions

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[62] In 2002, 95.2 and 96.5 percent of males and females graduated from high school in Japan. In the same year, 47.0 and 33.8 percent of male and female went to four-year-college in Japan (Educational Division Akita Prefectural Government 2004).

[63] This national census has been conducted every five years since 1920. This survey includes Japanese males, females and foreigners who are living in Japan.

[64] Gender Division in Akita Prefectural Government conducted a survey of the labour market in 2002 and 3000 males and females over 20 years old were surveyed in Akita Prefecture. In 2002, 51.8 percent of women and 71.8 percent of men answered that they were engaged in paid employment in Akita prefecture. Out of these women, 28 percent were involved in part time work (Gender Division Akita Prefectural Government 2004: 4).

in the employment field achieved promotion as part of the seniority-oriented promotion system, women workers were, in effect, excluded from this framework, and achieved promotion only as exceptions'(2000: 179). This is because the management side emphasises men's career development and promotion. Thus, male workers clearly have more economic capital attached to them than female workers. In Akita city, the male average monthly income was 272,800 yen (around 1350 GBP) and female's was 183,400 yen (900 GBP) in 2000[65] (Statistic Bureau Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005).

What about the households? The majority of women get married and build their own family. In 2000 in Akita city, the percentage of unmarried women aged 30-34 years was 26.4 percent, 35-39 years was 14.3 percent and 40-44 years was 8.8 percent and unmarried men was 38.8 percent, 24.3 percent and 15.9 percent respectively[66] (Statistic Bureau Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005). In 2003, women's average age for a first marriage was 27.2 years old, and men's was 29.1 years old in Akita Prefecture[67] (Health Division Akita Prefectural Government 2003). In terms of households, Kondo (1990) argues that most women still remain in the household and perform their duties as housewives. The ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wives, wise mothers) is still embraced and women prioritise household over employment. This phenomenon is reflected in women's employment rates distribution in Japan and in Akita city against their age. Sugimoto (2003) describes that women's employment rate peaks immediately after leaving school (from 18-25 years) and this rate dropps away (from 25-35 years) as they quit work to have babies and raise their toddlers. Then, as children become older and spent more time at school, the rate began to rise again as more women return to the workforce. This flow of women's employment rates can also be seen in Akita city in 2000: employment rate was 75.9 percent for 20-24 years old and 71.0 percent for 45-49 years old but dropped to 59.2 percent for 25-44 years old (Statistic Bureau Ministry of Internal

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[65] Male average monthly income was 395,800 yen (around 2000 GBP) and female's was 260,100 yen (around 1300 GBP) in 2000 in Tokyo (not including part-time labour) (Ministry of Labour 2000). This difference of income between Tokyo and Akita is due to the fact that there are many large Japanese or multi-national companies in Tokyo. There are many employees who earn higher salaries in Tokyo area than Akita area.

[66] The percentage of unmarried women was 26.6 percent for 30-34 years old, 13.8 percent for 35-39 years old and 8.6 percent for 40-44 years old and of unmarried men 42.9 percent, 25.7 percent and 18.4 percent respectively in 2000 in Japan (Statistic Bureau Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005).

[67] In 2003, women's average first marriage age was 27.6 years old and male's average first marriage age was 29.4 years old in Japan (Health Division Akita Prefectural Government 2003).

Affairs and Communications 2005). This suggests the argument women prioritised their households over employment[68].

Even terminologies which are used today make clear that a woman's place is at home. A husband still refers to his wife as his *kanai* and this is literally translated as the inside of a house. Additionally, friends and acquaintances call a married woman, *okusan*, and this literally means a person in the back of a house. This idea of women's subordination in Japan derives from Confucian and Buddhist theory. It draws on the Confucian theory of subordination that formed the basis of Chinese feudalism, that is, 'the hierarchies between lord and retainer, parent and child and husband and wife' (Ackroyd 1959: 34). According to Confucian theory, 'A woman has no way of independence through life. When she is young, she obeys her father, when she is married she obeys her husband, when she is widowed she obeys her son' (Robins-Mowry 1983: 20). 'Japan was subordinated to China in a colonial relationship' (Liddle 2000: 78) in the twelfth century. This Chinese Confucian theory was imported at that time: it has never disappeared from Japanese society (ibid.). Buddhist morality tales also adopted an inconsistent approach by promoting the subordination of women while simultaneously overlooking adultery among wives (Ackroyd 1959: 33).

Moreover, Kondo (1990) and Liddle (2000) point out that there is a clear distinction between working-class women, the 'lower class working mother' and middle-class women, the 'middle-class professional housewife' in Japan[69]. Kondo (1990: 121) describes the middle-class professional housewife as the woman who commits herself 'wholeheartedly to the betterment of her household'. She is generally in charge of finances and household repairs. The middle-class professional housewife is devoted to her husband, her children and to her parents-in-law or her parents. Unlike the working-class mother, the middle-class professional housewife is able to pay much greater attention to her children's education (Roberts 2005). This is because housewives are not working full time, they have enough energy to become tutors of their children or send them to *jyuku* (cramming school). Thus, a middle-class

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[68] This women's employment rate distribution cannot be seen in the United States, Germany, Sweden and in the United Kingdom (Educational Division Akita Prefectural Government 2004: 14).

[69] Although I described that there is a clear distinction between 'lower class working mother' and 'middle-class housewife', it does not mean that we only have these categorizations in Japanese society. Although it is a minority group, there are professional women who belong to the dominant class and hold professional careers (Liddle 2000).

housewife normally becomes '*kyoiku-mama* (education mother)' and throws herself into the task of coaching her children for academic success (Yoder 2004: 59). Moreover, due to the Confucian ethics, she is also responsible for looking after her parents-in-law or her own parents. Due to the prolonged life span in contemporary times, this care has become a major task for middle-class professional housewives. In order to be the best middle-class housewife possible, she is also encouraged to embody femininity, graciousness, and become cosmopolitan. As discussed in Chapter Two, these housewives are actively involved in taking lessons in the study of *chadō*, *ikebana* (flower arrangement), *kitsuke* (how to put on a kimono properly) and foreign languages.

Liddle comments that 'a middle-class professional housewife' is 'committed to marriage and the performance of unpaid work, devoted to the family, marked out a woman as feminine, contrasting her to middle-class men who devoted themselves to salaried work for the organization' (2000: 239). Not undertaking a paid profession marked her out as 'respectably' middle-class, in contrast to lower class women who out of necessity performed paid work throughout their lives. Therefore, Liddle concludes that 'the construction of middle-class femininity through the hegemonic discourse of the professional housewife was crucial to the production of gender difference and class distinction[70]' (ibid.).

There is no survey of lower class working mothers and middle-class professional housewives in Akita city. However, the Gender Division in Akita City conducted a survey in 2001 of 2000 males and females between the age of 20-69 years old in Akita city. The survey shows that 57.5 percent of women in Akita city are working (including part time work) and almost half of working women in Akita city (53.6 percent) answered that they were working in order to maintain an income out of necessity in the household (Gender Division Akita City Government 2004). 23.1 percent of non-working women answered that they did not work because they were at an economically sufficient stage (ibid.). Therefore, there is at least a clear difference between these two groups: around 25 percent of all women were working out of economic necessity, and around 12 percent of all women were not working because

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[70] Having such a wife to perform this role has also been an important part of middle-class men's identities (Liddle 2000: 243). 'A man's masculinity was still defined by their positioning as the objects of domestic work, and performance of household labour was demeaning for them because of its association with femininity and the low symbolic capital of women's work' (Liddle 2000: 259).

they had sufficient economic means.

Takamine (2005) points out that there are more social obstacles to the gender equality movement in Akita city than in metropolitan area. According to Takamine, there is a higher percentage of senior residents in Akita city than in metropolitan areas. These senior residents still maintain the social standards in Akita city and both male and female senior residents believe in the clear gender role of women as housewives and men as breadwinners. Takamine asserts that changing senior residents' views is very painstaking. Furthermore, she noted that if she emphasises the gender equality movement excessively, she ends up receiving criticisms from some sections of society. People with power, the males in Akita city, are apparently not happy with what her Gender Division Akita Prefecture Government has done and they avoid these issues (Takamine 2005).

So far, I have described the gender inequality in Akita society and in Urasenke *chadō*. Women appear to be in an unequal position in many fields: academic life, labour market and household. Like in the *iemoto* system of Urasenke *chadō*, in which males are always in superior position, females seem to be undervalued in Akita city where the *ie* structure still persists. However, does it mean that women just accept this unequal position?

5.4 Discussions of gender empowerment

As I described in Chapter Two, Kato argues that middle-class housewives have empowerment through *chadō* as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). Kato (2004: 5) explains:

> The 'power' that the tea ceremony gives to women practitioners is different from the power that their (male) family members receive. The 'power' here does not directly refer to political or economic power. Instead, acquisition of 'power' here means acquisition of 'knowledge', which thereby changes one's way of interaction with the surrounding world. This is for example the kind of power which literate people have more than illiterate people do. With this kind of power, one does not necessarily become a government official or a president of a company, but will be less easily controlled by others, or less at the mercy of situations; in short, they will have more agency of their own actions.

Kato further describes that *chadō*'s characteristic of *sogo-bunka* (composite art form) encourages women to gain gender empowerment. As described, *chadō* is a *sogo-bunka*, practitioners not only practise *temae* (tea procedures) but they also learn

about calligraphy, utensils, architecture and Japanese history. Kato argues that because of the characteristic of *chadō* as a composite art form, practitioners *benkyō* (study) *chadō* from many different perspectives and this *benkyō* allows housewives to feel on a par with their male family members. I agree with Kato's argument, but moreover, I have seen cases of non-housewives' sense of empowerment in Akita city.

Kato's argument, which I outlined above, suggests that women do not simply accept their undervalued position but gain empowerment through *chadō*. In the following section I want to introduce my ethnographic findings and take a closer look at the gender issue.

5.5 Clear distinction between male and female role in Urasenke *chadō*

5.5.1 Many female practitioners

From Kato (2004) and Verley's (1989) discussion of the predominance of female practitioners in post-war times, one can easily assume that there are still many female *chadō* practitioners in contemporary times. Indeed, I found that the percentage of male participation in Urasenke *chadō* today is extremely low by the comparison with the Edo period (1603-1867).

Gakusei seminar (student seminar), a mixed Urasenke *chadō* seminar for four-year-college students was held in Kyoto in July, 2004. I met about thirty male practitioners from *danshi-gumi seminar*, the male only seminar, while I was in *gakusei seminar* in Kyoto. Male practitioners were wearing *hakama* over their *kimonos*. A *hakama* is a traditional Japanese garment for men, which resembles a divided long skirt. Male practitioners are required to wear this *hakama* on *kimonos* for *chadō* seminars in Kyoto. Unlike female practitioners, the group of male practitioners tended to be quiet and I rarely heard their chatter. My seminar was held at the same time as *danshi-gumi,* since the number of participants for *danshi-gumi's* was too small to organise a seminar on its own. Moreover, at the *Tohoku chiku taikei* (regional Urasenke *chadō* conference) in June, 2004, the male percentage was only two percent. This low male participation rate could also be seen in the younger generation: out of 78 attendees, there were only four male students (all of them in their twenties) in the *gakusei seminar*, (mixed Urasenke *chadō* seminar for four-year-college students). At these occasions, all the male practitioners were also

wearing *hakama* over their *kimonos* and women were wearing *kimonos* with decorated *obi* (sash). Both of the outfits make beautiful sounds when a person walks on tatami floor, with the sounds of the quiet shuffle of their white *tabi* (split-toed cotton socks). The sound of *kimono* invokes the image of a soft breeze blowing a small flag on a pole on a quiet afternoon while the men's starched *hakama* brings to mind someone striding through a corn field. Since I had rarely practised with male practitioners, the sound of *hakama* was very unusual to my ears.

Male participation is also extremely low in Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city. There were no males attending my mother's class, although she taught roughly 25 practitioners per week. There was only one male practitioner at Anbo-*sensei*'s class of more than 200 practitioners. There are only four male Urasenke *chadō* teachers, Tsushima, Suzuki, Tami and Nagai *sensei* out of about 177 teachers (Tankokai Akita Branch 2004) in Akita city. Tsushima-*sensei* only teaches *chadō* to male practitioners and he only has nine practitioners. At Akita Urasenke *kenkyukai* (*chadō* seminar) in October, 2004, there were only four male practitioners out of around 120 participants. As of 2004, there were 2,044 Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city and only two percent were male practitioners (ibid.). Because there were so many women, whenever I attended these *chadō* occasions in Akita city, the higher pitch of women's voices drowned out the lower pitch of men's voices. Additionally, the bright colours of women's *kimonos* tended to entertain my eyes much more than the dull colour of the men's clothing. Men tended to wear dark suits, such as grey or black, for attending *kenkyukai* in Akita city. On the other hand, female practitioners would wear *kimonos* in a variety of colours such as yellow, pink, light blue, dark red. Thus, the overwhelming presence of women was very much in evidence.

5.5.2 '*Chadō* is for women'

Even though Urasenke *chadō* was only for males until the Meiji period (1868-1912), the majority of current Urasenke *chadō* practitioners are females. However, this does not mean that Urasenke *chadō* is only for females. Yet many people, including practitioners in Akita city seems to assume that Urasenke *chadō* is for females. I heard and saw these thoughts through my informants' stories and my participant observation. For instance, a male *chadō* practitioner, Iida-san was asked several times by non-practitioners if men were allowed to practise Urasenke *chadō*, after his tea performance on the stage at the tea gathering. Iida-san described one of these

situations at his interview:

> I remember that there was a senior couple sitting right in front of me. I could feel that this man was looking very carefully at my performance until the end of the tea ceremony. He came close to me after and said that he never saw men performing tea ceremony in his life. He confessed that he believed that men were not allowed to practise tea ceremony! Can you believe it?

He told me that he was very surprised that people had this conception that Urasenke *chadō* was for females only.

Kobaya-*sensei* commented at her interview that her husband and son rarely involved themselves with *chadō*, even though *chadō* classrooms were in their house. Kobaya-*sensei* was the daughter of Anbo-*sensei* and, with her mother, Kobaya-*sensei* also taught *chadō* at her house. Kobaya-*sensei* commented that her husband and son never showed interest in *chadō* and thus, never learned *chadō* from her. She said, 'they say that *chadō* is for women not for men!' I saw that Kobaya-*sensei*'s daughter-in-law was serving *matcha* (green powdered tea) at the tea gathering while wearing the youthful colour of red *kimono*. However, I never saw Kobaya-*sensei*'s husband and son serving tea or performing tea at the public tea gathering in Akita city. Kobaya-*sensei* seemed to be relaxed and comfortable discussing her husband's and son's attitude to *chadō* with me in the café: I realised that she never changed her tone of voice, whereas her tone became high and speech got fast when she was nervous during *chadō* class. She never appeared to be upset about their attitude to *chadō*, rather she seemed to take this situation for granted and assumed that *chadō* was for women.

Similarly to Kobaya-*sensei*'s case, I did not see any involvement of my grandfather and father in Urasenke *chadō* even though *chadō* classes were held in our house. Our house was divided into two sections, one side was more private, for the family. Here, was where the kitchen, living room, Japanese bath and bedrooms were located. In another side were all the *tatami* rooms; these rooms were mainly used for *chadō* classes. Although the house was strictly divided into the private and the rooms for *chadō*, they were only separated by a sliding door. Thus, it was not physically difficult for my male family members to come to the *chadō* classroom. However, they rarely came to the *tatami* room after classes to join us for *matcha* (green powdered tea). It seemed that my grandfather and father assumed that *chadō* practice was something for women, and in a different world from them, and they never tried

to learn *chadō*. The female side of the family did not seriously encourage them to learn either. My younger brother was encouraged perhaps only a few times to have *matcha* but has shown no interest in Urasenke *chadō*.

I invited my father to have tea after class in April, 2004, prior to that it was more than five years since he had joined us after class. He came with a big smile; he said he would be delighted to take tea from me. It was so different for me to see my father having tea in the *chadō* classroom. The room still had a smell of incense and charcoal burning from the last class. I served my father's favourite rice cake, the sweet had a poetic name, *sakura-gawa* (cherry blossoms river). This little rice cake was shaped in a way that resembled a petal of a cherry blossom floating on a blue river. While I was concentrating on my tea procedure, my mother suddenly raised her voice in surprise and said to my father: 'Oh my goodness, did you already touch your sweet? You are supposed to have your sweet when you are told by your host!' By the time I looked up my father was already finishing his rice cake. It dawned on me that he knew very little about the etiquette of how to take tea. My mother asked him to slide over the *tatami* floor while kneeling to pick up his tea bowl, but my father could not slide and instead of that he jumped up.

My father knew very little about *chadō* even though he was married to a recognised expert in Urasenke *chadō*. His lack of knowledge did not embarrass him. After he finished his *matcha* (green powdered tea), he even commented about Urasenke *chadō* practitioners that '*chajin monmo*', and intelligent Japanese men tended to believe that the knowledge of *chadō* had no value to them. *Chajin* means *chadō* practitioners and *monmō* means illiteracy. This is a proverb dating from the late Edo period (1603-1867). At that time, the population of *chadō* practitioners grew amazingly and *chadō* became a form of entertainment for them. This proverb contains a negative image of *chadō* practitioners; they look clever but in fact do not have a deep academic knowledge[71]. My father wanted to express his feelings by quoting this proverb. My mother was not upset by it and she appeared not to take his comment seriously. Therefore, my father and mother's conversation and attitude suggest that they took it for granted that *chadō* is for women but not for men.

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[71] The meaning of this proverb is well recognised. C*hajin monmō* has an alternative connotation, it derives from one characteristic of *chadō*; the non dependence on written words with the influence of Zen Buddhism.

The following Naraoka-*san*'s comments about her family members tell us that they also considered that *chadō* was for females. Naraoka-*san* was about the same age as my mother. She was quite tall for a Japanese woman, and whenever I saw her at *chadō* occasions, she was wearing a dark colour *kimono* and her hair was neatly tied up at the back of her head. At her interview, NAnbo-*san* told me that all the female family members, including her grandmother, aunts, mother, her first daughter and second daughter were practising *chadō*. In contrast, the male members, her grandfather, father, husband and son had never practised *chadō*. From the way that she explained, Naraoka-*san* as a practitioner seemed to assume that *chadō* was for females. She explained it as if this was the right answer, she never showed any hesitation in explaining that only female members practised *chadō*.

Naraoka-*san* had been married for more than thirty years and she mentioned that her husband was quite strict with her. She said her husband always asked her to cook his three meals a day since he worked close to home and if she could not make it, he became very unhappy except when she was attending Urasenke *chadō* occasions. Naraoka-*san*'s husband apparently let Naraoka-*san* attended any occasion that was related to Urasenke *chadō* events. Naraoka-*san* mentioned with a smile on her face that he even let her participate in Urasenke *chadō* class in Tokyo once a month and some *chadō* seminars in Kyoto quite happily. Naraoka-*san* added:

> My husband thinks *chadō* is good for me. My family always says that I am not feminine, I am tall and act like a man, maybe this is the reason that my husband allows me to practise *chadō* whenever I like. All my family members think that *chadō* makes me walk gracefully, speak gently and act elegantly.

Naraoka-*san*'s account seems to accord with the fact that *chadō* is associated with femininity as described in Chapter Two. As Naraoka-*san* pointed out *chadō*'s connection with femininity might be the significant reason that Naraoka-*san*'s husband was happy to let her be involved with *chadō* and in contrast was why he never became involved with *chadō* himself.

Thus, my ethnographic examples of Iida-san, Kobaya-*sensei*, my family and Naraoka-*san*'s stories demonstrate that people in Akita city, both non-practitioners and practitioners alike have a strong belief that Urasenke *chadō* is for women but not for men. This view that Urasenke *chadō* is for females may be stronger in Akita city than Kyoto area for two reasons: firstly, historical image and secondly, the non-existence of *iemoto* (grand tea master), *gyōtei* and *mizuya* in Akita city, who are

the second and third highest male rank teachers in Urasenke *chadō*. Firstly, Urasenke *chadō* was initially established in Osaka and Kyoto area in the late sixteenth century and many males such as merchants, samurai, aristocrats practised *chadō* in this area for many years. They sometimes practised and engaged in *chadō* for political and business benefits. On the other hand, Urasenke *chadō* was only introduced in Akita city in the 1930s and at this time, it was not introduced among men but among women, especially the wives of medical doctors (Tankokai Akita branch 1981). Therefore, this historical background may encourages the view in Akita city that Urasenke *chadō* is only for females, while this may be less so in the Osaka and Kyoto area where there are historical connections between males and *chadō*. Secondly, people in Osaka and Kyoto area may see male practitioners such as *gyōtei* and *mizuya* performing tea ceremonies on local occasions. However, these occasions are rarely seen at local cultural events in Akita city since these male *gyōtei* and *mizuya* are based in the Kyoto area.

5.5.3 Male superiority in Urasenke *chadō*

As described above, there is a general assumption that Urasenke *chadō* is only for women, in reality there are also male practitioners in Urasenke *chadō*, and practitioners tend to distinguish gender roles clearly in Urasenke *chadō*. In general, male practitioners appear to have superior positions in relation to female practitioners.

Firstly, this male superior position can be seen visually in the physical seating arrangement in *chadō* occasions. I was surprised that the male beginners were asked to be the *shōkyaku* (first guests), this is the most honourable guest position, yet they were not as expert as the female practitioners who had been teaching Urasenke *chadō* for a long time. One of these male practitioners was Ikematsu-*san*. He had only started practising *chadō* two years before that time and he kept asking me questions during *chadō* classes. He shared his anxieties about his garment: he said he had never worn *hakamAnbo*fore. It was summer, and his *hakama* was made of light silk. The colour of *hakama* was light blue and I felt cool by just looking at it in the hot and humid *chadō* classroom. Ikematsu-*san* borrowed this *hakama* from his *sensei* and was wearing it for the first time on that occasion. Of course he did not know how to wear *hakama,* so he asked his male colleague to help him in the morning. During the class, he was quite nervous walking in his *hakama* and he paid attention not to step

on it whenever he stood up. Whenever he did stand up, his face was covered with sweat, it seemed this sweat was coming more from his tension than the weather conditions. However, his clumsiness with his garment for *chadō*, did not discourage our *chadō sensei* from choosing him as the first guest.

Secondly, this male superiority can also be seen not only in the allocation of physical space, but also in the Urasenke structure. As I described before, the Urasenke social structure is based on the *iemoto* system. Within this *iemoto* system, Urasenke *chadō* do not accept females as *iemoto, gyōtei*[72] and *mizuya*. Females are only able to become lecturers, teachers or students which is the lower hierarchy level of the *iemoto* system.

Among my female informants there were several practitioners who attended Urasenke Senmon Gakko (*chadō* two-year-college). This college was well known among *chadō* practitioners to be strict, but also to provide a rewarding study of *chadō*. One of its graduates, Yoshino-*san* complained about the gender inequality in Urasenke *chadō*. Yoshino-*san* always looked proud of herself: her back was straight, her chin was always up and she rarely smiled at other practitioners. When I asked about her *chadō* background, she gave me a very detailed description of her school, Urasenke Senmon Gakko. She said:

> Yes, it was very strict. It was almost like military training; we always had to wake up 6 am in the morning and had to go to bed at 10 pm. We had to ask permission to stay outside. We always had tests and exams, so I really studied hard. You know it was really worth going to this school, I learned so many things in two years. I love *chadō* so much and I want to pursue it at the highest level in *chadō*.

I had already heard from other practitioners that she was very proud of the fact the she went to Urasenke Semmon Gakko. Indeed, I agreed with other practitioners' comments, she looked very proud and happy to talk about this topic. However, her tone changed at the end of her explanation.

> But I see now that it is not very fair. After these efforts, I am not allowed to be *gyōtei,* and *mizuyAnbo*cause I am a woman. Even though I was at the top in my class, and I was better than my male classmates, I cannot be a *gyōtei* or *mizuyAnbo*cause I am a woman.

Her story tells us of her dilemma that is derived from the gender inequality system.

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[72] Because of the shortage of men during the Second World War, Urasenke allowed one woman, Hamamoto to become *gyōtei* on this period (Anderson 1991: 71).

Before further discussing male superiority in Urasenke *chadō*, I will explain in greater detail the Urasenke structure. The Urasenke *chadō* structure comprises not only teachers and students but also other promoters, supporters and adjunct professionals. These are two main sub-groups: Konnichian is a non-profit organization comprised of the study groups. This is based in Kyoto where Urasenke headquarters is located. Tankokai is an incorporated group consisting of 167 chapters in Japan in 2004 (Urasenke Konnichian 2004) and is responsible for all profit-making activities such as publications, tours and sales of utensils. Tankokai is also for teachers and practitioners trained by indirect representatives of Urasenke rather than at Konnichian. This Tankokai Urasenke has a hierarchical system that distinguishes the top organising side from ordinary practitioners. The positions of organisers, such as the head committee members of the Urasenke *chadō* society, were filled mainly by males.

At the *tohoku chiku taikei* (regional Urasenke chado conference), where I attended in June, 2004, the organisers and people on the stage were mostly males. Of the 32 people on the stage only two were women (both of them in their 60s). By contrast, only about two percent of the 1,000 strong audience were men[73]. Although *gyōtei* and *mizuya* did not exist in Akita city, clear gender roles were also recognised in Akita city. The top organizational sector of Urasenke *chadō* was again occupied by males such as Tsushima-*san*, Koizumi-*san*, Muraoka-*san* and Kaneko-*san*. These faces always appeared on the stage for important *chadō* occasions and they were considered more powerful than the *chadō* teachers in Akita city since they exercised considerable financial power. In contrast to the organisers, the *chadō* teachers and practitioners were largely females. As I described above there were only four male *chadō* teachers out of 177 teachers in Akita city.

This superiority is also reflected in the *chadō* ritual ceremony. *Chadō* is related to Shintoism and Buddhism, and Urasenke *chadō* has tea ceremonies especially dedicated to the god of the shrine and to the Buddha of the temple. These ceremonies are called *kencha-shiki* and I attended them several times. These were recognised as

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[73] I also attended the gathering for the 50th anniversary of Urasenke's official presence in Latin America in Mexico in September. Around 500 Urasenke *chadō* practitioners gathered from North America, South America such as Brazil, Peru, Argentina and Japan. There are around 130 branches overseas and these branches teach *chadō* abroad. The heads of these branches came from all over the world and the majority were also males.

among most important tea ceremonies in Urasenke *chadō* and Anbo-*sensei* said that Urasenke believed that performers and utensils in this ritual had to be well purified in order to serve the most purified tea for the god and the Buddha. All the utensils had to be new, which meant that performers could not serve *matcha* (green powdered tea) with familiar old utensils. A performer had to purify utensils by wearing a white cotton mask so that a performer's breath would not be inside the tea bowls. Additionally, a performer had to use white *(fukusa)* silk cloth so that the utensils would be purified more than by any other colour of silk cloth. In this ritual, only the *iemoto* and his heir were assigned as performers and *gyōtei* and *mizuya* were assigned as assistants. Even their wives and the heir's wife were not allowed to be assistants. Consequently, in *chadō*'s ritual of *kencha-shiki*, males always tended to be the main performers of rituals in *chadō* and females tended to be in the second position as the audience.

I heard only two criticisms about gender inequality from female practitioners, one was from Yoshino-*san* as I mentioned above, and the other from Miyama-*san* at the Kyoto seminar. Miyama-*san* was in her late thirties and told me that she started practising *chadō* because her mother-in-law was teaching *chadō*. She was also more talkative than other practitioners, she shared her private stories with her class mates with little hesitation. During the seminar, Miyama-*san* was mostly cheerful and positive. However, her usual happy face disappeared and she said with a serious tone that she could not stand the fact that males were always in superior positions to females in every case in Urasenke *chadō*. She stated that she always thought that this gender role in *chadō* was not fair for women.

On the other hand, most Urasenke *chadō* practitioners never discussed such issues of gender inequality in Urasenke *chadō* in front of me. They did not seem to have any concept that females were in an unequal position to males in Urasenke *chadō*. They did not consider male roles such as the *iemoto* (grand tea master), *gyōtei*, *mizuya* and organiser positions in Urasenke *chadō* as being superior to the female practitioners' position as ordinary practitioners. The gender roles among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners rarely appeared as a criticism in our conversations in the *chadō* classes in Akita city, rather these roles were taken for granted. This may be related to the fact that the male role is recognised as 'traditional'. Practitioners seemed not to be concerned with the fact that tradition was invented (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983) and they did not question the issue of 'tradition'. Female practitioners appeared to believe

in this tradition and there was nothing that they could do about it. I asked several practitioners about male dominance in Urasenke *chadō*, and they responded that Urasenke *chadō* used to be only for males and they should protect Urasenke *chadō* as it was the Japanese traditional culture.

5.5.4 *Chadō* as a religious belief?

Another reason that female practitioners do not question male roles in *chadō* may be related to the religious[74] aspect of *chadō* itself. This characteristic can be seen in several *chadō* occasions. During *chadō* seminars in Kyoto, all of our class attendants were expected to pray for Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), the person who is recognised as having established *chadō* in the sixteenth century. We were guided to Sen Rikyu's altar. Every practitioner was told to be quiet, his altar was located in the dark innermost room in the house, where his family lived for more than three hundred years. We were told to pray for him. Practitioners sat on the *tatami* floor and prayed as they would in a shrine or temple by closing their eyes, bending their head a little and joining their palms together in front their chest. Personally, I felt uncomfortable praying for Sen Rikyu since I did not have any particular feeling for him. However, everyone was very quiet and seemed to show their respect to Sen Rikyu. Several participants including Manda-san and Sugidate-*san* said that they became very emotional to finally meet and pray for Sen Rikyu at his grave. It was almost like the atmosphere of pilgrimage; a pilgrimage to Urasenke headquarters in Kyoto. Practitioners come from all over Japan to Kyoto, and praying at Sen Rikyu's altar and meeting his descendant, the current *iemoto* (grand tea master), seems to be a special moment for them.

Additionally, at each tea gathering or conference, practitioners were required to recite the Urasenke Creed. The creed is as follows:

> We are striving to learn the essence of *chadō* and to put it into practice in our daily lives.

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[74] Religion is the concept that anthropologists use constantly, without being able to agree on a precise definition (Hann 2000: 168). Within this circumstance, I concern Malinowski's (1950) concept of religion. Malinowski defines that as follows, 'we call religion any collection of belief and practices referring to supernatural powers and bound into an organic system, which are expressed in social life by a series of acts of a cult which is systematic, public, obligatory and based on tradition...' (1950: 166). I also consider with Durkheim's (1956) understanding of religion in relation to symbol and ritual. His approach makes a strong distinction between the sacred and the profane and locates ritual firmly in the former category. Urasenke *chadō*, which has a religious dimension itself is comprised of numerous ritual and symbols, and indeed ritual is located as sacred category.

> We shall continuously reflect upon ourselves to attain this end. In accepting a bowl a tea, we shall be grateful for the love we receive from each other. Through the act of sharing tea, we shall communicate the universal quality of *Chadō*. We shall not look down on other people, but shall always consider others first. The Grand Tea Master is as a father to us, and all who have entered his gate to follow the Way of Tea are family. Whoever we meet, we shall not forget a respectful heart, since we are all one in spirit. As we progress along the Way, we shall never forget the earnest heart of the beginner. With warmth and generosity of spirit, we shall do our best to make this world a brighter place in which to live.
>
> (Urasenke Konnichian 2004)

When we recited this creed, we were again expected to recite it as if we were praying. Thus, all practitioners including *iemoto, gyōtei* and *mizuya* closed their eyes, bent their heads and prayed. Almost everyone memorised this creed by heart, nobody was reading a paper or note. While we were reciting, everyone's eyes were closed, everyone looked very obedient.

My grandfather commented that *iemoto* was revered almost like a god among practitioners in Akita city. He said:

> Every practitioner says '*Oiemoto-sama* said this, so I should do it', it sounds like he is always correct and every one simply believes him. For practitioners, he is the greatest man, he is really like a god. Being with your grandmother for fifty years and also looking at your grandmother's colleagues' attitude, this is what I always felt.

It appears that *iemoto* has been idolised as a powerful icon, like a god, and practitioners seem to have a strong belief in Urasenke *chadō*. Indeed, Nishiyama (1982) points out that Urasenke *chadō* has religious characteristics itself and *iemoto* has been recognised as sacred. He also adds that the relationship between practitioners to the *iemoto* is similar to that of the Japanese and the Japanese emperor during the Second World War. Therefore, it appears that *chadō* has a religious component and this may be another reason why female practitioners do not question male superiority in Urasenke *chadō iemoto* system. Even though in reality the majority of practitioners are females, males hold the superior positions in Urasenke *chadō*. Since *chadō* is seen as primarily for females, this is a paradox.

So far, I have discussed the gender roles in Urasenke *chadō*. Although the majority of practitioners consider gender roles as traditional but not gender inequality, my participant observation and my two informants' stories illustrate that male superiority does exist both in physical space in *chadō* class, and in the Urasenke structural system. Female practitioners are always at the bottom level of the Urasenke *chadō*

pyramid; females are simply ordinary practitioners in contrast to *iemoto, gyōtei, mizuya* or organisers. As Yoshino-*san* was complaining, females are not allowed to occupy the top level of the Urasenke *chadō* structure such as *gyōtei* and *mizuya,* thus, there is gender inequality in Urasenke *chadō*.

I discussed before that Nakane's (1983) sees a similar version of *chadō*'s *iemoto* system in Japanese society. I have explored the gender inequality dynamics through literature and statistics in Akita city and in Japan. These suggest that males are always in superior positions over females in Akita city and in Japan generally. In the following section I will introduce my informants' stories about gender inequality in their daily lives in Akita city.

5.6 Gender inequality in Akita city

5.6.1 Labour Market

This following is Yoshina-*san*'s case, which illustrates the gender discrimination in the labour market in Akita city. A *chadō* practitioner's daughter, Yoshina-*san*, had just turned thirty years old in 2004. When I met her at her home, she was in her training clothes and not wearing any make up. However, her skin and eyes were clear and she looked very radiant and pretty. Once I started to ask about the situation at the company where she worked, her clear eyes grew a little sad and she talked in a rather quiet voice. She said that there was clear gender discrimination in her broadcasting company in Akita city. She kept being asked when she was going to get married and leave the company by her colleagues. Yoshina-*san* could not stand these comments and eventually she decided to quit the company and work for herself. She went to Canada for one year and studied animal nursing. She said:

> I have now my own place for animal nursing after renovating my own house. I am not sure whether this will work or not but my life is much better than my life at the broadcasting company. This is a lot less stressful!

One year later, I heard that Yoshina-*san*'s shop was doing well and that she had been in great spirits ever since.

5.6.2 Household

I heard several stories that women in Akita city were forced to put household work

before paid employment. I met Ikeda-*san* at Anbo-*sensei*'s *chadō* class. She was in her fifties and she told me at the interview that she had married for the first time three years ago. Whenever we had a chance to talk, Ikeda-*san* always talked about her husband; his characteristics, beliefs, work, hobbies and family history. It appeared that she was really enjoying being with her husband. Until her marriage, she was working as a banker at a foreign owned company in Kobe city; she was a professional career woman. Since her company was a foreign owned company, she said that there was a very liberal atmosphere. 'One female colleague came to our office with a dress which had huge slit up the back! These kinds of dresses were not a problem in our company; it was quite open and liberal'. She said that one day, she suggested to her husband that she might want to work in Tokyo once they moved there for his job. Her husband immediately said to her, that he was not happy at all with that idea and thus, Ikeda-*san* is still not working to this day.

Like Ikeda-*san*, Kodama-*san* also ended up quitting her job because of her husband's preference. Kodama-*san* was my grandmother's student for a long time. Although Kodama-*san* was about the same age with my mother, my mother said that she always felt that Kodama-*san* was very calm and acted like the big sister to my mother. Because of her way of talking and acting to her classmates, she sounded self-assured, I could also feel that she was a trustworthy person. During the interview, Kodama-*san* told me that she met her husband at her workplace and they soon had two children after their marriage. Soon after the second child was born, her husband strongly suggested that she quit her work even though she wanted to continue working. Kodoma-*san*'s husband asked her whether she preferred her daughters or her work. Kodama-*san* asserted that he could not see that she could actually manage both, her daughters and her work.

My mother also had a similar problem to Kodama-*san*: my father never let her have a full-time job. My father said to me, 'if a woman in a household starts working, she will start to put her work first and the family will definitely collapse'. By the way he explained it, he appeared to have no doubt in his belief. My mother also commented that my father thought that other people in the city would assume that he did not earn a sufficient salary if she worked in a full-time position. Therefore, my mother never worked full-time. During my fieldwork time, a family member of mine became ill and my father immediately said to my mother to quit all her part time work, which is her *chadō* teaching at her house and a local university. She complained:

> There was no negotiation between me and your father, like offering to share the caring by taking a day-off from his work. I am apparently the only person who is going to quit my work and take care of our family members.

Her account shows that my father seemed to believe in a clear gender role difference, where men should be the bread winner, and women should be seen as the housewife taking care of the family.

5.6.3 Akita city

One of the young *chadō* practitioners, Ishihara-*san* agreed with the view of Takamine (2005), the director of the Gender Division Akita Prefecture Government that the recognition of gender equality in Akita city is considerably lower than in metropolitan areas. Ishihara-*san* grew up in a town just outside Akita city and worked at an insurance company in Tokyo after her graduate course. At the interview, she pointed out that the attitude towards women is different in Akita city and Tokyo, where she found that there are quite a number of professional career women. She felt that there was a more liberal attitude toward women in Tokyo where women could be single and pursue their careers. On the other hand, Ishihara-*san* commented that she felt that there was a more conservative attitude toward gender roles in Akita city: all her relatives and friends in Akita asked when she was going to get married and have children, rather than about her future career. Ishihara-*san* in her early thirties seemed to have no complaints about her life in Tokyo. She explained:

> My life in Tokyo is busy but great. I work for a foreign insurance company and my boss started to ask me to do many important tasks, they ask me to go on business trips and solve the issues for my company. I do not have any boyfriend at the moment but my private life is busy too, I try to go to top chef's cooking classes, *nōh*'s class and *chadō* lessons. If I have free time, I love watching movies, so I watch them when I have time.

When she was describing her life in Tokyo, her eyes were shining and her face was bright, she seemed to be very satisfied with her life and had no intention of coming back to her hometown Akita.

So far, I have presented my informants' stories, and their voices tell us that, women have been in an unequal position in their daily lives. Yoshina-*san* hit the limit of her promotion opportunities and instead was encouraged to marry because she was a woman. Ikeda-*san,* Kodama-*san* and my mother were forced not to work even

though all of them wanted to. Furthermore, Ishihara-san's accounts illustrate the tendency in Akita city to define clear gender roles, with women in the household and men in the labour market, and thus leading to gender inequality. Going back to my father's comment of *chajin mommo*, illiterate *chadō* practitioner, what did he want to express by using this phrase? My father wanted to say that *chajin* (*chadō* practitioners) were not clever because they are females. *Mommo* literally means illiterate, but by using this phrase, my father wanted to express that practitioners were not that clever. However, the fact was that 97.4 percent of females graduate from high school in Akita Prefecture (Educational Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005). Thus, this shows that female illiteracy was not an issue in Akita. He indirectly wanted to portray his belief that females were inferior to males and this was why many *chadō* practitioners, who were mostly females, were not considered clever. Considering my father's comment and the other ethnographic data, Urasenke *chadō* tell us that women are regarded as inferior to men in Akita city. Additionally, these stories have shown that Nakane's (1983) view that the *iemoto* system can be seen in Japanese society, where the *ie* system still remains relevant.

5.7 Gender empowerment

In this section, I want to describe how *chadō* practitioners do not only acquiesce in gender discrimination in society, but also gain a sense of empowerment through *chadō*. I will first describe middle-class housewives' stories in the context of Kato's (2004) discussion of *sogo-bunka* (composite art form) and *temae* (tea procedure) and then concentrate on non-housewives, widows, separated women and singles.

5.7.1 The housewife

Kato's (2004) argument in terms of *sogo-bunka* (composite art form), can been seen among the informants' stories. Manda-san was a housewife, she was in her late fifties and she had been practising *chadō* for more than twenty years. Unlike her *chadō* classmates, she only had one hobby, *chadō*. Manda-san told me that she earned her own money by sewing dresses at home and spent all her money on her *kimonos*, tea utensils and textbooks. She was rarely absent from her class and my grandmother and mother told me that they knew Manda-san was well prepared for the classes as she diligently read her textbooks. They said Manda-san rarely made mistakes in her tea procedure. Manda-san also said at her interview, 'I do not only prepare well for my

class but also spend a good time for my review. I make my own notes and write down what I learned'. Whenever she left *chadō* class, she always looked happy and occasionally commented that it was worth coming to class because she learned something new.

Manda-san graduated from her high school and her husband had a university degree. Displaying her subservient body position, she said:

> I am from the deep countryside in Akita area and I only graduated from high school. In my area, I never heard that women went to colleges, you know it was very rare. I moved to Akita city with my son for the first time when I was in my thirties. This was to provide him with Anbotter education. Where we lived at that time was a small town far away from Akita city and there was no good schooling. So, my husband and I decided that my son and I would move to Akita city for a while. We rented a small apartment close to my son's school. While he went to school, I was free and I also wanted to do something, something that I have never able to do. And I decided to practise *chadō*.

When she started to explain about her relationship with her husband, her face brightened. She proudly said that she was more cultured than her husband since she learnt a great deal about history and famous artists through *chadō* utensils, or tea procedures at *keiko* (daily practice).

> I am just amazed how uncultured my husband, is the only thing he knows about is his work. When we were watching the art channel, I realised that he misunderstood the meaning of a famous proverb and could not read that calligraphy. How shameful.

It appears Manda-san, who only had a high school diploma seemed to equate herself with her husband because of the cultural knowledge she has acquired through studying *chadō*.

Similarly to Manda-san, WatAnbo-*san* also seemed to feel that she empowered herself in relation to her husband through *chadō*. WatAnbo-*san* was in her seventies and her husband was retired. They used to live in a very small village outside Akita city. However, they left their house and moved to Akita city once they retired. At the interview, she said it was too hard for them to live there because of the large amount of snow in winter. WatAnbo-*san* described:

> I was only twenty years old when I got married. My husband was a farmer, his family were small landowners and they lived in a deep deep countryside. There was no train service in his village, so husband picked me up with his lorry! Can you believe it? Ever since my marriage ceremony, I lived in that countryside, and of course there was no *chadō* class.

WatAnbo-*san* continued that she never had a chance to practise *chadō* in her life in her small village and it was her dream to practise it. Therefore, she joined the *chadō* class right after she moved to Akita city.

Every Thursday, she dressed up nicely, she often wore her favourite necklace and a smart dress or suit. Going to the *chadō* class for WatAnbo-*san* seemed to be a special occasion in her daily life. WatAnbo-*san* mentioned that she and her husband love Japanese history. Therefore, she tried to attend all the historical tours that are organised by Urasenke *chadō*. She described excitedly:

> Oh, these tours are fantastic. The last time we went to Kanazawa, we visited the local temple and the owner of the temple showed me a letter from Lord Maeda, who was describing the tea utensils. His writing was thick and strong. The owner of the temple said, his writing showed the Lord Maeda's characteristics. Then, he showed me the utensils and calligraphy which Lord Maeda was using! I felt great. It was amazing that we could be close to the person who used to control part of Japan at that time. I felt that I was close to him.

She added, 'you know my husband is jealous now. Because of *chadō* I know so much about amazing historical stories, more so than him. It's such fun for me to tease him and see his jealous face, I am much cleverer than him'. By listening to her stories and observing her attitude, it appeared to me that WatAnbo-*san* enjoyed attending her *chadō* class. As she described, it was her dream to practise *chadō*. Moreover, she also seemed to enjoy feeling cleverer and more powerful than her husband by engaging in *chadō*.

Ando-*san* had been practising *chadō* for a long time at Anbo-*sensei*'s class. She had one son and her husband was a university lecturer in Akita city. When I met her the first time, her son was in his third year of high school and he was seriously preparing for his university exams. Other practitioners said to me that Ando-*san* was quite tense because she was nervous about her son's entrance examination. Ando-*san* said at the interview with me:

> So my life is quite tense because of my son, I am nervous for him, I really want him to enter a good university like my husband. So, at the moment, all of our family members just *benkyō* (study) after dinner. My husband and my son study in the same room and I study *chadō* downstairs. If my son stays up late at night, I also carry on reading my *chadō* textbooks. I review all the procedures, which I am going to practise that week and if I still have time, I read and make notes about utensils which I am going to use. So, in our house, it is so quiet, really, everyone in our house does *benkyō* (study).

Ando-*san* appeared to equate herself to her family members by spending time studying *chadō*. It seems that Ando-*san* felt herself comparable to her family

members not through the actual content of knowledge: cultural capital of *chadō*, but through the process of acquiring it.

Going back to Kato's (2004) argument in relation to empowerment, she also comments that dominated classes such as merchants raised their social status through performing *temae* (tea procedure) in the late fifteenth century. Kato (ibid.) argues that *chadō* 'has always been a means for non-dominant groups to obtain cultural capital, because *temae* (tea procedure) enabled relatively disadvantaged but ambitious groups to acquire a type of self-discipline usually associated with socially superordinate groups' (2004:45). Kato (ibid.) describes *temae* as both bodily control and mental control[75]. As I described in the previous chapter, this mental control is related to Zen Buddhism and to the dominant classes, namely, aristocrats, warriors and priests (Lebra 1993: 243-256). Kato (ibid.) argues that merchants developed this bodily and mental control and thereby equated themselves with the dominant classes: the imperial family, aristocrats and aristocratic warriors. However, Kato did not point out the contemporary practitioners' sense of empowerment to *temae*. I argue here that, like the merchants, housewives embody *temae* (tea procedure) as their cultural capital and perceive themselves as equal to their male family members.

Takeda-*san* practised *usucha-hirademae* (thin tea procedure) for the special tea gathering. Since she was going to be on the stage in front of a large audience, Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* were very strict with her about acquiring bodily and mental control. She was instructed to remember the procedure perfectly and acquire the proper posture. Takeda-*san* was especially told to maintain the right arm angle properly when she poured hot water into a tea bowl. Kobaya-*sensei* suggested, 'Takeda-*san*, try to imagine that you hold a raw egg under your arm, then the angle of your right arm will be perfect'. Then, after countless practice of this tea procedure, Takeda-*san* was urged to have mental control: she was told, 'try to keep the sense of *mu* (emptiness) in the soul and try not to think about the order of the tea procedure and your mental and spiritual control will eventually make your audience calm and relaxed'. Once Takeda-*san* made a mistake during her *keiko* (daily practice), I heard *sensei*'s strong comments, 'why do you make a mistake here? This is basic stuff. You really are supposed to remember every single tea procedure at this stage, do it again!

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[75] This body and mind dichotomy does not exist in some society (Howes 2005: 6). For instance, Kensinger (1995) describes that Peruvian Cashinahua does not recognise the mind/body relationship, just skin knowledge, ear knowledge, eye knowledge and so forth.

This is so embarrassing'. She looked very serious during her practice and after so many months of practising for the tea gathering, her performance was successful. Both of the teachers came up to Takeda-*san* and said that her performance was very good.

By acquiring this *temae*, Takeda-*san* also seemed to have a sense of gender empowerment. Apparently her husband came to see her and he commented that she looked *sugoi* (wonderful). He admired her excellent performance, she looked calm in front of an audience of one thousand, her performance was smooth and her posture was good. When she repeated her husband's comment at her interview, she looked very proud of herself. She explained that her husband practised *kendō* (Japanese fencing) and he commented that he was impressed that Takeda-*san* acquired the similar *seishin syugyo* (spiritual discipline) with himself through *chadō* body and mental training. *Kendō: 'ken'* is the word for sword, *'dō'* is translated as 'way' or path. Similarly to *kendō, Chadō: 'cha'* is the word for tea, *'dō'* is translated as 'way' or 'path'. In both cases 'do' is a path to enlightenment derived from Zen Buddhism, thus *kendō* also follows the same bodily, mental discipline and consequently spiritual discipline. Takeda-san said:

> So, since my husband practised *kendō,* he recognised the same mental and spiritual discipline. He also knew that it takes a long time to reach this level. He looked at me differently after my *chadō* performance. I felt great, I was very proud of myself. I said to my husband that 'I am not useless, I am also well trained'.

As was the case of the merchants in the fifteenth century, Takeda-san seemed to have acquired a sense of empowerment by performing *temae* with its refined body movement and mental control. Since she commented about the length of study, Takeda-san appeared to know that this *temae* as cultural capital is not accumulated by simple training and therefore, she seemed to feel equal to her husband who had already acquired these kinds of embodied cultural capital from his training in *kendō*.

Like Takeda-*san,* Chieko-*san* also seemed to feel that she acquired empowerment through engaging in *temae* (tea procedure) in her daily practice. Chieko-*san* had just turned sixty years old when she shared her stories. She was the daughter of a president of a lumber company in Chiba prefecture and had an arranged marriage with the son of a well-known *sake* (Japanese wine) brewing company in Akita. Since her marriage, she had lived in Akita with her husband's parents and her children. She explained her life as follows:

My parents-in-law, especially my mother-in-law was in charge of our house. She was a strong woman. She believed that we should not waste our money, in order to keep our sake brewing company successful. My natal family back in Chiba prefecture was not like that at all. So, I had a hard time following my mother-in-law's policy. As they got old, as you know, it was my duty to take care of my parents-in-law. I took care of their diapers, washed their body and gave medicines. They were very hard tasks, physically and mentally. These people are not your parents who raised you, they are actually strangers to you. Imagine that you have to take care of the strangers' diapers everyday, it is very hard indeed. But everyone expected that this was one of the housewife's jobs in the household. My husband was always on a business trip and he rarely helped me, so, I really had no choice but to cope by myself. I looked after my parents-in-law for over ten years.

While she explained about her care work for her parents-in-law, she looked very unhappy, instead of looking at me, she kept staring at my tea cup for a long time. She gave a big sigh and stopped talking for a little while as if she was trying to recover from her painful memory. However, she soon started to talk with a calm but happy face:

> I think I was able to survive this tough work because of *chadō keiko* (daily practice). Going to *chadō keiko* was my oasis and *chadō* classroom was my place to recharge myself. I found that I could forget about my daily tasks while I performed *temae*. I could just empty myself and concentrate purely on making tea. Actually, I also found that *chadō*'s mental training made me a strong person. I could really control my emotions and feelings. I think all the meditation through keiko gave me spiritual strength. I felt that I could manage my task without any help from my husband.

She had a sip of tea and continued:

> Now my husband is retired and he often stays at home. Since he was a workaholic, he does not have a serious hobby. His work did not give him anything but money. He does not have anything with him but I have *chadō* with me, I am a stronger person because of *chadō*.

Although Chieko-*san* was not particularly fond of taking care of her parents-in-law, she claimed that she had to do this task because this was a housewife's duty. She felt this housewife's role of looking after parents-in-law was a serious burden for her and eventually caused her mental stress. In this situation, Chieko-*san* confessed that she improved her mental condition and became a stronger person by performing *temae*. Therefore, listening to Takeda-*san* and Chieko-*san*'s stories, it appears that they acquired their sense of empowerment through *temae* of *chadō*. Lebra (1993) argues that the dominant class such as nobles were trained from childhood to control their emotional feelings in public and to develop mental control. Additionally, Kato argues that the dominated class such as merchants acquired this bodily and mental control in order to achieve the same social position as the dominant class. Like the merchants as

a dominated class in the late fifteenth century, Takeda-*san* and Chieko-*san,* as part of a female dominated group seemed to equate themselves with the male dominant group through *temae* (tea procedure) in contemporary times.

5.7.2 Housewives empowerment?

So far, I have described housewives' stories and my participant observation of *chadō* in Akita city. And their voices and attitudes demonstrate that these housewives have a sense of empowerment through *chadō* as cultural capital. What I see here is Bourdieu's argument of conversion of capital, particularly economic capital into cultural capital. These practitioners, such as Manda-san, WatanAnbo-*san*, Ando-*san*, Takeda-*san* and Chieko-*san* convert economic capital: pay *chadō* lessons, into cultural capital. This cultural capital can be Manda-san or WatanAnbo-*san*'s *chadō* knowledge, Ando-*san*'s process of acquiring cultural capital or Takeda-*san* and Chieko-*san's chadō temae* (tea procedure), which is the achievement of mental and bodily control. For *chadō* practitioners in Akita city, mental control is indeed recognised as one of the important aspects of cultural capital. *Sahō* (etiquette and manners) are believed to consist of both concepts of bodily and mental control. Walking properly, bowing smoothly and serving sweets elegantly, these bodily disciplines are physically apparent and are recognised as *sahō.* However, I would argue that *chadō* practitioners understand that this bodily control does eventually connect to their mental control. As discussed in a previous chapter, if a practitioner acquires bodily control, there is a high probability that he or she will also acquire mental control through *temae* practice. Therefore, mental control is connected to cultural capital.

Bourdieu emphasises conversion of capital in the academic field: purchasing academic diplomas. However, among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners this does not seem to be the case. All of the *chadō* practitioners whom I described above had only a two-year college degree or less and their husbands had four-year-college diplomas. Middle-class housewives tend to achieve empowerment not through academic education, but through Urasenke *chadō*. My participant observation in the previous chapter demonstrated that acquiring mental and bodily control through the study of *chadō* is not simple work. This may be the reason that housewife *chadō* practitioners have a sense of empowerment through *chadō* as they recognise that *chadō* study takes as much effort as their husbands' four-year degrees.

In the previous chapter, I argued that *chadō keiko* (daily practice) is relevant to Edith Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power. She points out that ritual can provide spiritual power to participants. Similarly to Turner's discussion, housewife practitioners such as Takeda-*san* and Chieko-*san* seemed to perceive that they obtained their spiritual discipline and strength through *chadō* ritual and consequently empower themselves in society. Because of *temae,* Takeda-*san* appeared to believe that she acquired the power to be calm in front of large audiences and become a person who could stand on an equal footing with her husband. Chieko-*san* on the other hand, seemed to believe that the mental control from *temae* (tea procedure) gave her spiritual strength. Therefore, Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual is relevant to housewives practitioners' empowerment in Akita city.

While, Kato was describing only the housewives' situation, I saw a different kind of empowerment: a sense of empowerment for non-housewives in Akita city through *chadō*. Kato (ibid.) stated that the empowerment through *chadō* for a middle-class housewife does not connect her to economic power. Thus, Kato does not support arguments concerning the conversion of capital, especially cultural capital into economic capital through *chadō* in the case of middle-class housewives. However, I want to argue through my following ethnographic examples that the empowerment through Urasenke *chadō* of non-housewives does connect directly and indirectly to economic empowerment. They convert *chadō*, cultural capital into economic capital. Additionally, I want to add that non-housewives sometimes have a sense of empowerment by converting cultural capital into symbolic capital, I will present these examples in the following section.

5.7.3 The widow

Although Anbo-*sensei* was in her early eighties, her back was straight and she walked like a young woman. Anbo-*sensei* is the widow of a medical doctor and she has been alone for more than fifty years. She appeared to receive her economic empowerment to a certain extent through Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city. Anbo-*sensei* is the daughter of Noro-*san* who was a politician in Noshiro city in Akita prefecture and her ancestors were well known *jyōshin* (senior statesmen) who served the lord of that area during the Edo period (1603-1867). Sitting on the cushion on the *tatami* room, she started to talk.

> I grew up in Noshiro city not Akita city. After I graduated from high-school, I married my husband, who was a medical doctor in Akita city. Soon after our marriage, we had Sakura (her daughter). But as you know my husband died when Sakura was only two years old. When I was still crying and moaning about my husband's death, still only a few months after his death, my mother-in-law forced me to go to the *chadō* classroom. I really thought my mother-in-law was mad! I really did not want to go, I did not want to meet anyone. But here I am still doing tea. After ten years of practice, I started to teach Urasenke *chadō* at my home.

While she was telling her stories, her eyes were always looking somewhere else as if she was trying to draw her old memories in her brain. Anbo-*sensei* also told me that after her husband's death, they sold the medical equipment to other doctors in Akita city and converted some of her husband's land to a parking lot in order to have a regular income in their household. But she commented that *chadō* also helped to give her some economic power. She said it was hard at the beginning to have economic support from *chadō* since she had to purchase *kimono* and utensils with her income from *chadō*. She continued:

> Yes, Chiba-san, it was very hard for me at the beginning of *chadō* life. I did not have enough *kimono,* so I had to think very carefully not to wear the same combination of *kimono* and sashi for the same group of people. I did my best to pretend that I have enough *kimono* to practise *chadō*.

But, she emphasised that later in her life, her *chadō* income gave her considerable financial help. When I asked questions about her life stories, Anbo-*sensei* said to me that she did not remember the old times and I was silly to ask about her old stories. However, she seemed to remember her story well and shared it with me with her usual high tone voice.

As I mentioned before, Anbo-*sensei* has around 200 practitioners and this number of practitioners was the biggest in Japan in 2004. There is a cultural award called *Bunka Koreisho* in Japan and each year only a few people are awarded it in each prefecture. Anbo-*sensei* was awarded this prize in 1997 for her considerable effort in devoting her time to spreading art, in her case, Urasenke *chadō* in Akita prefecture. Because of this prestigious award, Anbo-*sensei* seemed to be considerably respected in Akita city, even by males.

I had a chance to visit a local Akita festival meeting in August 2004. The majority of those attending were local businessmen and one of them asked me at the meeting

where I normally spent my time. I answered that I spent my time at Anbo-*sensei*'s *chadō* class. Sasajima-san, one of the businessmen immediately relied, 'oh yes, I know Anbo-*sensei*, she is the lady who received a prestigious cultural award. She is the person who is *ichimoku okareteiru*'. This term means that the person is so respectable that everyone looks up to him or her. Sakamoto-*san* added to Sasajima-san's comment: 'Yes, yes, that Anbo-*sensei,* she is really amazing person, isn't she? I heard that this award is really difficult to get, but she got it didn't she. She is the person whom Akita can be proud of'. Then, I realised that many of those attending were nodding their head without any hesitation. During this discussion about Anbo-*sensei,* no one talked joking, but spoke and nodded with serious face. Anbo-*sensei* seemed to have achieved a reputation as a respectable cultured person. By listening and observing these businessmen's reactions to Anbo-*sensei,* it appears that this award even made men in Akita city show great respect for her. It seems that Anbo-*sensei* had not only gained her empowerment through economic capital but also through the symbolic capital of *chadō*.

5.7.4 The separated woman

Tada-*sensei* is an example of people who converted *chadō* as cultural capital into economic capital and had a sense of empowerment in Akita city. Tada-*sensei* was originally from Oomagari city in Akita prefecture and her father owned a Buddhist temple. Other practitioners sometimes said that Tada-*sensei* was very proud of herself and was an opinionated person, because she was the daughter of a prestigious temple owner. Tada-*sensei* said:

> I married a monk in Akita city, my husband, the owner of the temple called Saizen, which has a history of more than five hundred years. But a few years after my marriage, my husband started to have an affair and left our house and started to live with his lover. Oh, yes it was very tough for me emotionally and financially. I thought that he might come back after several months, so I waited patiently..... But he never came back. I really did not know what to do. When I was having a difficult time, my *danka-san*[76] (supporters of temple) comforted me. They advised me to go Kyoto and become a nun and come back to Akita city.

She had a sip of tea and continued:

> I was not sure if I could do it, I heard that the nun's training was very strict, and not many women could become nun. But at the same time, we were desperate, we needed some

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[76] Every temple has financial supporters, in reciprocity, monks take care of supporters' funerals and look after their grave matters.

> income to protect our household and temple. So, I decided to support myself and protect this temple by working as a nun. And when I came back from Kyoto, my *danka-san* introduced Takahashi-*sensei* to me and this is how I started to teach *chadō*.

She further explained that she first started to rent her temple for practising *chadō* to Takahashi-*sensei* but soon she also began to practise and *benkyō* (study) *chadō* seriously. Once she got the *chadō* teacher license, she taught *chadō* at her temple. She asserted, 'oh yes, *chadō* definitely helped our financial situation also. Teaching *chadō* was an excellent means for me to have an extra income. This is because being a nun, I had to be at my temple most of the time'. According to her story, it appears that she managed to acquire her economic stability through her work as a nun and *chadō sensei.* Additionally, since she did not have to go outside her house for teaching *chadō*, *chadō sensei* seemed to be a convenient way to earn another income for her. I heard from other practitioners that Tada-*san*'s husband did not come back to her for more than fifty years. Consequently, she maintained her household through her family assets as well as her work as a nun and *chadō sensei.*

5.7.5 The single woman

Chida-sensei, the daughter of a barber, seemed to receive more financial power through Urasenke *chadō* than Anbo-*sensei* and Tada-*sensei* in Akita city. She was quite small and had strong curly hair. Whenever I saw her, she always spoke fast and was trotting along the corridor. Some practitioners commented that Chida-sensei tended to be a very opinionated person and not a pleasant person to be in the company of. Her house was in the residential area and had an elegant entrance hall with a lattice door. Chida-sensei invited me to her dining room and she soon described her life stories:

> After I graduated from high-school, I helped with my father's work; he was a barber. Then, when I was in my thirties I heard that there was a *chadō* class near my house and I started to go *chadō keiko.* I loved it so much and *chadō* study was great fun. I got a *chadō* teacher's license after my hard study and I have been teaching *chadō* for more than thirty years now. I converted part of my house into a *chadō* classroom. Indeed, I have earned my money through *chadō.*

When I brought up the name of Chida-sensei, one of the practitioners, Futada-*san* commented that, 'as a daughter of a barber, she did not inherit a considerable amount in family assets like other *sensei,* in fact, Chida-sensei and her sister live only on income from *chadō*. She is indeed a strong woman'. Indeed, the income of *chadō sensei* is small compared to the income of middle-class or upper middle-class

families. However, the income of a *chadō sensei* may be bigger than that of many working-class women in Akita city. Consequently, *chadō* appears to give considerable economic stability and empowerment to Chida-sensei who is originally from a working-class family.

Soga-san was in her fifties and single. I always met her on Wednesday evening at Anbo-*sensei*'s class. Soga-san had a masculine-figure; she was tall, with a solid bone structure, big hands, dark skin, a very short hair cut and deep voice. Because of her appearance and deep voice, many of practitioners were continuously commenting that she was very masculine. However, as I got to know her, I realised that her way of acting and talking was quite feminine and elegant. Soga-san appeared to believe that she also acquired financial and mental strength through *chadō*. She was working at the sweets company in Akita city. She had been practising Urasenke *chadō* for quite a long time and she was teaching *chadō* at her home once a week after her work at the sweets company. Soga-san said to me that she was planning to teach *chadō* full time once she retired from the sweets company. Soga-san was taking care of her old father by herself and she was willing to supplement her pension and other income through *chadō*.

Her body began to droop, as she added that under the male dominanted society and labour market, it would be very difficult for her to be recommended for work at her company's subsidiary company after her retirement. (Employees are sometimes offered work at the subsidiary companies after their official retirement at their main companies). She also asserted that even though she had a four-year-college degree from Tokyo, she could not compete against her male colleagues simply because she was a woman. Therefore, she thought it was best for her to teach *chadō* and have extra income. In addition, she commented, 'through *chadō* I can maintain the right network such as contact with medical doctors, and as a single woman these social networks are so important to live.' From Soga-san 's account, she seemed to consider *chadō* a tool to acquire economic empowerment. Since *chadō* offers economic empowerment, her attitude toward *chadō* appears to be more serious than some other practitioners; she was rarely absent from her *chadō* classes. Although some practitioners were absent from their *chadō* classes since they had competing priorities such as family care or jobs, Soga-san always seemed to highly prioritise her *chadō* practice.

She continued:

> I actually had a very hard time in my early thirties at my company. I really loved my job. I belonged to the sales promotion section and organised several events to promote our sweets. It was indeed great fun and I think I was very good at it. Whenever I organised events, I would later receive a long term contract. So, I thought I would be promoted, but, as you can guess, I was never promoted. Rather, I was often told that I should have married and left the company. I was not happy at all to hear this kind of comments. At one stage at the company party, my colleague even said to me that I would never find a husband because I am extremely tall and looked like a man! I was really shocked to hear that. My work environment became stressful and I started to eat a lot of junk food.... you know, chocolates, cookies and crisps. I was very depressed, I could not control myself. Then, my sister introduced me to *chadō*. This is how I became involved with it.

Then she made a pause and said, 'I realised that *chadō* has something that makes me feel strong. I think it is the meditation part. I feel spiritually relieved and therefore a more powerful person'. She had severe stress because of her male dominated work environment. At one stage she lost herself control and gained weight. However, Soga-san seemed to believe that *chadō*'s concept of meditation gave her strength. Consequently, she managed to fully recover from her mental stress and carried on working at the company.

I also heard similar types of comments from Atsuko-*san*, who was from a different generation. Atsuko-*san* grew up in a town just outside of Akita city, went to *tandai* (two-year-college) and worked at a company for several years in Tokyo and then came back to Akita city when she was in her late twenties. I met Atsuko-*san* at the first time at Anbo-*sensei*'s class. By the time I interviewed her, I had only known her for six months through our *chadō* class, so we hardly knew each other. However, when I conducted the interview, I realised that she was quite open and down-to-earth. Atsuko-san was in her late thirties now and she sadly said that she was once planning to get married to her American boyfriend but her parents did not accept their request to marry and she still remains single. She mentioned that she contemplated a *miai* (arranged marriage) but she could not find a suitable man, whom she was happy to marry. She confessed with almost tearful eyes:

> I really regret not marrying him. I dated him for two years and now I think that he was really the man for me. I should have married him even if my parents completely rejected him. Especially my father, because he was a survivor of kamikaze pilots during the Second World War, he was not happy with my marriage plan. Even when my father had cancer and begged me not to marry, I should have married, my life would have been very different.

She further commented that a few years after breaking up with her American

boyfriend, she had started to realise that she might be single for the rest of her life. When I met her, she was working as a land-lady since her family owns apartment-complexes. At the same time, she had been practising Urasenke *chadō* for about ten years and she emphasised that she really would like to continue her *chadō* practice for the rest of her life. She said:

> Perhaps in thirty years time, I can become a *sensei*, teacher and perhaps I can teach *chadō* and it will benefit me in many different ways, financially or socially. Financially, there is no retirement age, so I can earn some money for quite a number of years. And you know this *chadō* is perfect for me, I do not need any four-year-college degree to become *chadō sensei*. My parents thought women do not need much education. Women should be dependent and subservient.

Indeed, she is probably correct; she can most likely become a *chadō sensei* (teacher) after her twenty years of practising *chadō*. And there is less of a social barrier for single women to obtain economic empowerment through *chadō* in Akita city: an academic education qualification is not required to become *chadō sensei*. Her story suggests that she was quite aware of gender roles and inequality in Akita society, and she quoted her parents' comments about women. Therefore, she appeared to believe that *chadō* would offer her the best opportunities for financial empowerment in the male-dominant Akita city.

A similar sense of economic empowerment through *chadō* can be seen in *ikebana* (flower arrangement). One of my mother's practitioners, Abo-*san* have intended to achieve her economic empowerment through *ikebana*. Abo-*san* grew up in a small village as the daughter of a farmer:

> After I graduated from high-school, I worked for a few years and then married. However, my husband died when our children were only four and two-years-old. I was devastated, but I did not have time for crying much. I was more scared of how I was going to support my two young children by myself. I felt strongly that I had to raise our children by myself since my natal family and my husband's parents did not provide any support. I also realised that I did not have a college degree to work at some companies in a full-time job. I thought about my future work and I finally decided to become an *ikebana sensei*.

She continued, but this time she began to smile:

> I know that you think I am idiot to think like this. I knew that it took a long time to study *ikebana*. I also knew that many ladies from good families were doing this and of course I was not one of them. But I really thought teaching *ikebana* was the best solution for me at that time. I didn't need any academic qualification and I knew that I could teach *ikebana* at home so that I could look after my kids at the same time. I went to one *ikebana sensei*'s house, explained my situation and begged her to teach me *ikebana* in order to become an

> *ikebena sensei* in the shortest period of time. And I did, I got the teaching license within a couple years. But then, I met my second husband and I did not have to become an *ikebana sensei*.

Despite the fact that she did not have to become an *ikebana sensei*, this story shows that *ikebana* is another route to acquire economic empowerment for women in Akita city.

5.7.6 Non-housewives empowerment?

So far, I have described non-housewives' stories in Akita city. Having listened to their stories, it appears to me that these non-housewives gained their empowerment through Urasenke *chadō* as economic capital and symbolic capital and this empowerment is related to Bourdieu's (1984) argument of convertability of capital. Looking at Anbo-*sensei*'s story, *chadō* as cultural capital seemed to be converted into powerful symbolic capital: cultural prestige in Akita city. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the value of symbolic capital differs depending on the circumstances (Bourdieu 1984, 1986). For example, the value of Anbo-sensei's symbolic capital would be less abroad, since not many non-Japanese recognise the value of this award. On the other hand, the value of Anbo-*sensei*'s symbolic capital was great in Akita city since many Akita residents recognise how difficult it is to receive this award. Moreover, all the non-housewives whom I have described above seemed to convert *chadō* knowledge as cultural capital into economic capital, as their source of income. In terms of economic empowerment, women in Akita city such as Soga-san seemed to be well aware of the fact that they were discriminated against in the labour market and education field. Therefore, *chadō* has been recognised as valuable cultural capital which they can convert into useful economic capital.

I pointed out in my autobiography that *chadō* is an expensive hobby and *chadō sensei* tend not to earn considerable amounts of money. Indeed, I agree that *chadō sensei* have to spend large amounts of money on *chadō* related expenses such as gratitude fees, utensils and *kimonos*. However, my informants explained that they somehow made their profits as *chadō sensei* through their network. According to Igarashi-*san,* some *chadō sensei* who could not afford to pay utensils for tea gathering often borrowed several utensils from utensils dealers. Additionally, some *sensei* bought their *kimono* from the second hand *kimono* shop. Therefore, some *sensei* do earn a decent amount of income to live on through *chadō*.

In fact, *chadō* is one of the best ways for women in Akita city to acquire economic capital for two reasons. The first reason is related to issues of academic qualification and the second reason is relevant to the term *kazeatari ga tsuyoku nai* (there is no strong wind). The first point relates to the fact that there is no academic qualification requirement to become a *chadō* teacher. As Atsuko-*san* commented, this requirement is so convenient for women in Akita city who tend to have fewer academic qualifications than men. Secondly, 'there is no strong wind' for female *chadō sensei*. This term means that there are fewer social barriers for single women to obtain economic empowerment through *chadō* in Akita city. As I have discussed, *chadō* is considered to be for females not for males, thus, not many men criticise single women for teaching *chadō*. Additionally, the occupation as a *chadō sensei* does not particularly challenge the traditional role of women as staying at home while men go out to work. A *chadō* teacher generally teaches *chadō* at her home, but not at the company office. In this way, women in Akita city receive less criticism by earning income through teaching *chadō* at home.

Consequently, this economic empowerment may be the reason that Urasenke *chadō* attracts many single women in Akita city and this popularity is reflected in the percentage of unmarried women in *chadō*. About twenty percent of female practitioners in Anbo-*sensei*'s class are unmarried[77].

Additionally, I would contend that Edith Turner's (1992) argument is also relevant to non-housewives practitioners' empowerment. Turner described that healing ritual participants believe that this ritual can heal their illness and consequently provide the spiritual power to themselves. Because of this spiritual power, participants believe that they can be fully recovered from their sickness and carry on their daily life. Just as Ndembu participants in healing ritual, Soga-san recognised that her mental stress was healed by participating in *chadō* ritual. As I noted in relation to Soga-san's story, she seemed to believe that she acquired her spiritual strength by achieving bodily and mental control in *temae* (tea procedure) and this allowed her to recover from her mental condition.

Furthermore, I want to point out the concept of femininity in relation to Urasenke *chadō*. I have previously discussed the connection between *chadō* and middle-class

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77 See more details in Appendix B Informants' background.

femininity: practitioners learn their graciousness and elegance through *chadō*. However, I have to state here that *chadō* sometimes contradicts the concept of middle-class femininity. This is because middle-class femininity is constructed on the premise that women are not engaging in paid work (Liddle 2000: 239). The fact is that *chadō* can be a form of paid work and this contradicts the idea of middle-class femininity. This may be the reason why we saw few cases of middle-class housewives practitioners engaged in economic empowerment. It appears that in order to keep this middle-class femininity status, some housewives practitioners refrain from teaching *chadō* everyday at their houses even if they have a sufficient qualification to do so. This discussion is also related to class issues especially the distinction of class in Akita city. I will further elaborate this discourse in the following chapter on class.

5.8 Conclusion

Based on my participant observation, the informants' stories and analysis, I illustrated the gender issues of Urasenke *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. So, how can we answer my first research question; what does Urasenke *chadō* tell us about women's social standing in Akita city and how does *chadō* improve it? I want to answer this question and conclude this chapter by emphasising the following three key points. Firstly, women are undervalued not only in Urasenke *chadō* of *iemoto* system but also in every sector of Akita city where *ie* system still exists. Perhaps because of the religious characteristic of *chadō* itself, many *chadō* practitioners do not recognise the gender inequality. However, my ethnographic data demonstrates that the top level of *chadō* hierarchy is occupied by only males as *iemoto* (grand tea master), *gyōtei,* and *mizuya* and as organisers, and the bottom level is occupied by females as ordinary practitioners who are simply teachers and students. Similarly to this gender order, females are undervalued in academic, labour market and household fields in Akita city. I also pointed out that the male-dominance of *iemoto* system is present even in the highest forms of *chadō* ritual.

Secondly, I want to reaffirm that women in Akita city do not only accept this gender discrimination but can also achieve a sense of empowerment through *chadō*. They perceive that can equate themselves with the position of males in society by converting various forms of capital. They sometimes convert economic capital: pay for *chadō* lesson, into cultural capital: *chadō* knowledge, or cultural capital: *chadō*

skill and knowledge into economic capital: income. Housewives acquire cultural capital through *chadō* and equate themselves with their male family members who generally have higher academic qualifications than females. On the other hand, non-housewives have empowerment by transforming *chadō* into economic or symbolic capital. Non-housewives can achieve their economic empowerment through *chadō*. As Atsuko-*san* said, there is no retirement age for a *chadō* teacher and there is no requirement of high level academic education. Moreover, Anbo-*sensei* as a woman, did not have the high academic qualification of men, but by receiving a cultural award: symbolic capital through *chadō*, she was respected even by men in Akita city. Additionally, both married and single practitioners acquired spiritual discipline and strength and felt empowered through *chadō* and I argued that these cases are relevant to Edith Turner's (1992) discussion of spiritual power in ritual: chadō ritual can also provide a sense of spiritual power to participants.

Nevertheless, in my last point, I must emphasise that such empowerment is limited. It is achieved without confronting the existing gender roles. *Chadō* practitioners are not gaining their empowerment by going against the gender role. Rather they do so within the confines of the gender role such as by not infringing on the men's domain by teaching *chadō* outside of the house.

So, how can we apply Rapapport's (1999) argument? As discussed before, he argues that ritual is related to social phenomenon and this relationship can vary. Through this chapter, I described how women actually empower themselves in cultural, spiritual and economic ways through *chadō* ritual. Thus, it first appeared to me that this *chadō* ritual is a totally opposite phenomenon and it can be the challenging model of contemporary Akita society. However, I acknowledged that this empowerment is limited. Consequently, I conclude that *chadō* ritual is indeed related to social phenomena as Rappaport (1999) discussed. However, in the *chadō* case, this relationship is complex: *chadō* ritual is not an identical reflection of society, nor simply the reverse image. *Chadō* ritual indirectly represents the male dominant phenomenon in Akita society.

Having considered all these arguments, I conclude this chapter as follows: Urasenke *chadō* tells us that women are in an undervalued position in Akita city. Within these circumstances Urasenke *chadō* helps improve this condition. Urasenke *chadō* has been used as the tool to give a sense of empowerment to *chadō* practitioners but

within the confines of traditional gender role expectation.

On the other hand, as I discussed in the gender empowerment examples, it is obvious that there are some other issues relating to these gender dynamics among Urasenke *chadō* practitioners. When Kato (2004: 5) comments on gender empowerment, she also adds that by acquiring more knowledge about *chadō*, women gradually empower themselves with regard to other women. It appears that female practitioners are trying to distinguish themselves from other women in Akita city. Who are these other women from whom they are trying to distinguish themselves? Women of a different class? I will elaborate these discussions in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6 Class

6.1 Introduction

Kato (2004: 19) argues in her discussion of methodological issues that 'it was impossible for her to 'observe any of the participants' daily lives at home with their family members'. She complains that 'this constraint comes first from the tea ceremony's institutional nature that practitioners only gather once a week at the *chadō* class from every part of the city or sometimes outside of the cities in metropolitan areas'. In contrast, I was able to witness practitioners' daily lives when I visited their homes as well as hearing many discussions about their home lives during *chadō* classes in Akita city. These conversations were sometimes about their husbands' work or promotion, their children's entrance examinations or their natal family's issues. In these conversations, female practitioners always differentiated themselves from other people in Akita area and these 'other people' were always other women. In this chapter, I will describe these practitioners' comments in detail and examine their conscious tendency to look upon themselves as different.

In my previous chapter, I stated that most of *chadō* practitioners are women and I focused on the gender issues in their daily lives. This chapter attempts to understand the current class issues among these female *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. I seek to explore class issues from the perspective of my empirical data drawn from participant observation and interviews. Through this chapter, I also intend to answer my second research question: what do Urasenke *chadō* practitioners tell us about class discourses and how has Urasenke *chadō* been used in class dynamics in Akita city? Based on my informants' daily conversations, behaviour and comments, I will first illustrate how *chadō* practitioners discuss class. At the next stage, I will argue that Urasenke *chadō* has been used as a distinguishing marker of class in Akita city. These discussions will be examined using Bourdieu's (1984) arguments of cultural and other forms of capital and Edith Turner's (1992) understanding of power through ritual.

6.2 Practitioners' discussions on class

As explained in Chapter Two, the Japanese term for class is *kaikyu; mibun*

contains the idea of both status and social class, while *sō* can imply layer, strata or class. However, in my interviews practitioners made little distinction between these terms when talking about class. Indeed, they take into account the wide-ranging criteria of cultural, symbolic, economic and social capital. Additionally, practitioners agree that upper-class is defined by a high and well balanced mix of all these factors. I heard numerous discussions relating to class during my participant observation and interviews.

When I had an interview with Anbo-*sensei* she started to talk about her practitioners. She mentioned:

> Since I have many *chadō* students, I have seen many kinds of students. Some of them are working, for instance, as a hair dresser or as an office worker and they come to *chadō* class after their work. Their parents are not usually cultured and they do not know anything about *chadō*, but these practitioners tend to *benkyō* (study) really hard. There are some people, who are housewives of *salaryman* (a white-collar, male company employee) who come to *chadō* class in the morning with eager faces. And there are some practitioners who are comfortable in many ways: they are cultured, and financially comfortable with their husbands' secure jobs and great support from their own families. Look at Someya-*san*[78], her husband is a famous monk and her father was also a monk from a big temple in Yokote city. She does not have any problem in organising tea gatherings, she has good finance, utensils from her family treasures, the time, space and excellent *cone* (social network) in Akita to open tea gatherings. Do you remember the last tea gathering which she held? It is such an honour to be selected as a hostess of this tea gathering and indeed, she did not disgrace the name of this tea gathering. In fact, I heard that her tea gathering was exquisite. She held it at the beautiful temple in Akita, I heard that she was able to use that space because her husband's uncle works there. I know everyone does not have a similar background to Someya-*san*, but I see that they all love *chadō* and want to continue. So my advice to my practitioners is to practise *chadō* according to their *mibun* (class). You don't have to buy expensive or precious utensils nor do you have to have higher licence to practise *chadō*. If you practise according to your *mibun*, you can just enjoy *chadō* until you die.

Anbo-*sensei*'s account suggests that she categorised practitioners' *mibun* (class)

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[78] Someya-*san*'s family owns a temple in Yokote city in Akita prefecture and her father was a Buddhist monk. She married a monk in Akita city and he is the owner of the temple which has a history of more than 500 years. Although there are some criticisms in Japanese society that Buddhist monks are after nothing but money, monks are still well respected in Akita prefecture (Yamada 2005). It is because the majority of the Akita residents still follow the Buddhist customs. Thus, monks from large temples receive many contributions from local society and they are financially well off. Historically, temples were used to control the census registration in the town during the Edo period (1603-1867). According to Yamada (2005), monks were ranked as high status, the same level as samurai. Many wives of monks tend to practise and teach *chadō* in Akita city. *Chadō* is historically closely related to Zen Buddhism. For instance some tea ceremonies are used as one of the rituals in the temple. However, most importantly, a temple is the place where local people tend to gather. It is not difficult for monks' wives to gather practitioners from local places (since they respect Zen Buddhism and respect the monk's family) and keep the space for the practice room (since a temple is fairly big). Thus it is easy for monk's wives to engage in *chadō*.

by focusing on their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. She seemed to understand practitioners from upper *mibun* as practitioners who practised *chadō* in comfort in many ways, for instance, their financial means derived from their husbands' income and their families' assets. In contrast to these practitioners from upper *mibun*, Anbo-*sensei* mentioned, 'people who come to class after their work'. By saying this, she seemed to emphasise that these women had to work since there was not enough income in their households. Additionally, she commented that the practitioners from upper *mibun* tend to be more cultured than other practitioners. Anbo-*sensei* did not comment on women's academic education, instead, she considered women's family background. Moreover, Anbo-*sensei* pointed out Someya-*san*'s excellent network system and degree of honour which her selection to host the tea gathering had given her. Therefore, it appears that Anbo-*sensei* associated women's *mibun* (class) with economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

On the other hand, I also had an interview with one of Anbo-*sensei*'s practitioners, Takeda-*san*. She was around her late thirties, always had a short haircut and hardly any make-up for her *chadō* class. Japanese women regularly put on make-up when they go out, so Takeda-*san*'s appearance was quite unusual. Japanese sometimes says, if a woman tends to wear a thick make-up, it means that she is trying to hide her *honne* (inner face). In keeping with this comment, compared to other practitioners, Takeda-*san* seemed not to be hesitate in showing her *honne* in the public sphere and indeed, she was a straight forward person. At the interview, Takeda-*san* described her *chadō* classmates to me and told me that the practitioners were divided into different *chadō* classes not by their skill level but by their different *sō* (class) in Akita city. Apparently, she recognised that Tuesday class was for practitioners who were a different *sō* from her.

> There are many practitioners who are wives of successful business men, politicians and owners of medical clinics. Additionally many of them are from *kyūka* (old families) like ex-land owners or ex-merchants. But as you know I am just a *futsū no hito* (ordinary person) compared to my classmates. I married the son of a farmer in Oga city in Akita Prefecture, who just works at the farmer union. I originally come from Osaka and my father just owns a tiny tea shop. Neither of us have enough money, prestige or *cone* (social network) to be recognised as the part of this *sō*. You know it is very strange that I am the member of Tuesday class, I am just so different.

Takada-*san*'s explanation shows how she differentiated her *sō* (class) from other *sō*. She first discussed her classmates' *sō* by looking at their economic capital:

their husbands' occupations, income, family assets and their symbolic capital: prestige. Then, she considered her own *sō* in the light of her financial situation, prestige and social network. When I asked what she meant by prestige, she explained that 'it is about honour and prestige of the name of *kyūka* (old family) background. Therefore, Takeda-*san* regarded the symbolic capital as deriving from the family background. Thus, Takeda-*san* considered class not only in terms of economic, but also symbolic and social forms of capital.

The following examples further illustrate my contention that practitioners understand class as a careful balance of economic, cultural, symbolic and social factors. One day, I was invited to have lunch with Urasenke committee members at a *chadō* seminar. One of the committee members, Yutada-*sensei* saw my mother and me passing through their room, and kindly stopped us to invite us for lunch. After the lunch, they started to discuss the committee members for the following year, 2005, for Urasenke *chadō*. They appeared to be talking discreetly, by leaning toward one another but their voices were not quiet enough, so I was able to hear their talking. Yutada-*san* recommended Ando-*san* for the head of the Education Department of Urasenke Akita Branch. Sochi-*sensei* looked happy with Yutada-*san*'s suggestion and she commented that:

> I think she is a good candidate, she is, you know kind of different *sō*. Her husband works at some insurance company and also she works with him as the office clerk at the same company. Her father was a simple shopkeeper, she does not have any financial support or anything from their family to be a *chadō sensei*, but now she is a great *chadō* teacher in Akita city. Ando-*san* is very knowledgeable and an excellent *chadō sensei*. If she becomes a head of the Education Department, she will give a different image to the public in Akita city and show that everyone can become a *chadō* teacher. They may no longer think that *chadō* is only for posh people.

It appears that because of her economic situation Ando-*san* was assumed to be from a different *sō* (class) from other committee members. She was considered different from Yutada-*sensei* and Sochi-*sensei* since she was engaged in the labour market and her family did not have great financial means. This account appears to relate to Kondo (1990) and Liddle's (2000) arguments on the differences between middle-class professional housewives and working-class mothers. As discussed before, middle-class femininity is defined by the fact that women are not engaged in the labour market and some middle-class practitioners do not work deliberately in order to maintain this middle-class position. Although Ando-*san* had enough cultural and symbolic capital such as being a great *chadō sensei*, she was

considered to be from a different class by committee members since her husband's income and family background provided insufficient economic capital.

On the other hand, practitioners who have sufficient economic capital from their husbands' income but not enough cultural and symbolic capital, seem to be categorised as simple *nariagari* (nouveau riche) but not as upper-class. One day at my mother's *chadō* class, Sasajima-san and Manda-san started to criticise Fujita-san and Noriko-*san*'s attitude. While I was attending *chadō* class, Fujita-san was often absent from classes and even if she attended, it was apparent that she did not read *chadō* textbooks before her class. She always made many mistakes while she was performing *temae* (tea procedure). Manda-san pointed out, 'Fujita-san is only interested in tea procedure *benkyō* (study) during her class and she does not study other aspects of *chadō*. She does not know anything, so why can she obtain *chamei* (professional tea name)?' Sasajima-san asked, 'Who is she? Where is she from?' Manda-san answered:

> She is just a *nariagari* (nouveau riche). She was just a nurse, married to a medical doctor. Her husband opened his clinic ten years ago, so now she has lots of *zai* (money). And now she starts lots of stuff which she thinks is good for her, she drives Anbonz, she plays tennis, golf and of course practises *chadō*.

She further continued:

> But you know, for me, she (Fujita-san) looks like she is *uiteiru* (floating) around *chadō* group in Akita city. Basically, she does not know anyone because her father was just a simple policeman in a small town outside of Akita city and her husband is the only one to be in a respectable profession in his family. She does not have any network, she does not know anyone in Akita city.

Manda-san added: 'Fujita-san is like Noriko-*san* that we met at the *chadō* seminar. Remember the one who recently started to attend *chadō* events all the time!' Noriko-*san* was also a nurse and was married to a medical doctor in Akita city. Her husband also opened his own clinic and Noriko-san helped their administration work until her husband passed away in 2000. After his death, Noriko-*san* stopped working and apparently she started to participate in Urasenke *chadō* occasions as much as she could. Sasajima-san was complaining that Noriko-*san* always wore a brand new flashy *kimono* at every event without considering the occasions. She pointed out that neither of them had any cultural background. She added that Noriko-*san*'s family background was suspicious since

she never talked about her natal family.

It seemed that Sasajima-san and Manda-san wanted to differentiate between Fujita-san and Noriko-*san*'s social position from their own. Although they were not using the term, *kaikyū, sō or mibun*[79], it appeared that they were discussing class. This was because both of them were discussing the same elements which were brought up in practitioners' discussion of *kaikyū, sō or mibun.* Even though Fujita-san and Noriko-*san* had sufficient economic factors from their husbands' income, they were regarded as simple *nariagari* (nouveau riche) and a different class from Sasajima-san and Manda-san. This was because Fujita-san and Noriko-*san* did not have enough cultural factors from either their *chadō* level or family background. Fujita-san was also described as lacking social networks in Akita city, and Manda-san added that this was due to her family background: her father being just a simple policeman in a small town. Further, they wondered about Noriko-san's own family background, the family name: symbolic capital. Sasajima-san and Manda-san seemed to understand that Fujita-san and Noriko-*san's* cultural, social and symbolic capital did not match their substantial economic capital which on its own could not categorise them as belonging to the same class as other practitioners.

On the other hand, simply having an old family background does not necessarily make practitioners upper-class: they can be regarded as *botsuraku kaikyū. Botsuraku* means collapse and *kaikyū* means class. This term *botsuraku kaikyū* is used in the famous Japanese novel called *shayō* by Osamu Dazai (1948) for describing the old elite class who lost their noble titles after the Second World War. According to critics, this novel is based on the model of Dazai's family as *botsuraku kaikyū* in Aomori Prefecture, which is next to Akita Prefecture. Dazai's family were wealthy landowners but lost all their economic power because of the land reform after the Second World War. After one tea gathering, Kishino-sensei was describing her friend in Urasenke *chadō* and she used this phrase, 'Noguchi-san is a typical *botsuraku kaikyū*'. She added, 'Noguchi-*san* has family prestige, being a daughter of Noguchi family. She sometimes proudly talks about her family's traditional customs but she does not have anything but *meiyo* (honour or prestige) at the moment'. I asked what she meant by *botsuraku kaikyū* and she responded, 'it is the people who used to be the powerful elite class but lost their

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79 See these terms' differences in Chapter Two.

economic power in contemporary times'. Noguchi-*san*'s family was a successful merchant family in trading business from the Edo period (1603-1867) until around the Second World War in Akita city. However, in her father's generation, her family business went bankrupt and they lost all their family assets including *kahō* (family treasure), which had often been used in tea gatherings. It appeared that in Kishino-sensei's eyes Noguchi-*san* was no longer upper-class. This was because even though she had enough traditional family background: cultural capital and old elite family name: symbolic capital, she had insufficient economic capital: no family assets.

Compared to Fujita-san, Noriko-*san* and Noguchi-*san,* Kishino-sensei appeared to be considered upper-class by other practitioners because of her well balanced, and substantial economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. One day we went to Kishino-sensei's tea gathering. For this tea gathering occasion, Kishino-sensei chose the incense of *byakudan*, which is a wood incense from South East Asia. The tea gathering room had a fresh smell of wood and this incense smell made me feel as if I was somewhere else, in a different place from the daily world. Honda-*san* commented at the end of the tea gathering, 'Kishino-sensei always has wonderful utensils from all her family'. She continued:

> I am so different from her, she is such a *subarashii kata* (wonderful lady). She is from the famous Koizumi family, their family are all medical doctors and Kishino-sensei is originally from a famous sake brewer. Not only is she sophisticated, she knows much about *chadō* and has *zai* (money) to do Urasenke *chadō* comfortably. Look at these many wonderful utensils, these come from her family! And look how she greets the president of Urasenke *chadō* in Akita branch, she seems to know everyone in town. I really feel we are in different *sō* (class) even if we are the same Urasenke *chadō* practitioners.....

Kishino-sensei was originally from the Kodama family, well known owners of a successful *sake* (Japanese rice wine) brewing company. The Kodama family as landowners in the northern part of Akita city, started their sake brewing business during the Meiji period (1868-1911) in 1880. The Koizumi family had also been well known in the medical field in the Akita area since the Meiji period and all the male side were medical doctors or chemists working in their own clinics. The female family members of Kishino-sensei have practised Urasenke *chadō* for a long time. Not only did the female side of Koizumi family love *chadō* utensils, but also the male side of the family were interested in collecting various them.

Honda-*san*'s comment vividly illustrates that she regarded Kishino-sensei as different *sō* (class) by emphasising her considerable amount of symbolic, economic, cultural and social capital. Firstly, Honda-*san* commented on Kishino-sensei 's prestige arising from the name of her famous family. Secondly, Honda-*san* pointed out Kishino-sensei's cultural factors deriving from her family background and her own cultured level from her *chadō* knowledge. Thirdly, concerning the economic capital, Honda-*san* mentioned Kishino-sensei 's husband's occupation, their family assets such as tea utensils and finally her rich social network: social capital in Akita city. Consequently, Kishino-sensei seemed to be considered as upper-class in Akita city by Honda-*san*.

So far, I have described how practitioners understand class. It appears that having insufficient economic, cultural, symbolic or social capital is a barrier to becoming upper-class in Akita city and indeed, to become accepted as such requires a satisfactory balance of capital. Given this concept of class, what part does Urasenke *chadō* play in the class dynamics in Akita city? For the rest of the chapter, I will explore this question. First of all, I will explain how my grandmother started to practise *chadō*.

6.3 Distinction between practitioners and non-practitioners

Why did my grandmother start practising Urasenke *chadō* and how has her motivation changed over her lifetime? When I asked my grandmother about this topic, she started to explain her motivation as follows: 'Well, you see I lived in Tokyo in Ebisu area when I was young. I lived with my sister since my parents passed away when I was small. And in Tokyo, there were several *chadō* classes around my area, so, I just decided to go'. I waited several seconds to see if my grandmother was going to elaborate her story, but she simply stopped. I felt a little disappointed with her simple explanation of her motivation, and asked my grandfather and my mother for more information. Then, they both mentioned her former fiancé in Tokyo. Consequently, I also heard about my grandmother's life story from my grandfather and my mother's point of view.

My grandmother was born in 1925 in Akita city. Her father was a carpenter and her mother was a housewife. My grandmother was the youngest daughter of four sisters and one brother. She kept on insisting to me that she did not have an easy

life, since her parents died when she was very young; her mother died soon after she was born and her father died when she was five years old. My grandfather added that she had a difficult childhood since she ended up moving to her relatives' house. When she was a teenager, she eventually settled down with her elder sister in Tokyo. After she finished high school, she went to a vocational school and became a school nurse.

My mother explained that my grandmother was once in love and engaged to a Japanese naval medical doctor. When my grandfather showed their old pictures, I came across pictures of a young man whose face was unfamiliar to me. My grandfather explained that he was the former fiancé of my grandmother. He was wearing glasses, and in full naval uniform. He looked so young and naive. My mother insisted that my grandmother was really in love with him. According to my mother, once my grandmother and her former fiancé decided to get married, she was asked by his mother to take *chadō* and *ikebana* (flower arranging) classes in Tokyo in order to acquire proper *sahō* (manners and etiquette). Apparently, my grandmother explained to my mother that this was because she was not considered to be in the same social position as her future husband and thus, she was not cultured enough to be his wife. My grandmother might not have been asked to attend the *chadō* class and *ikebana* classes if she had been thought to be from a suitable social position. My mother insisted that my grandmother's former fiancé was the significant reason that my grandmother started practising Urasenke *chadō*.

However, my grandmother's fiancé died during the Second World War. My mother commented that his death must be really hard for my grandmother. Later in her life, in her fifties, she asked my mother to take her to the naval base in Aomori Prefecture to pray for him. My grandmother came back to Akita city after the war and a few years later, my grandmother married my grandfather. My grandfather was working for a newspaper company in Akita and he fell in love with my grandmother (it was not an arranged marriage). My grandfather explained that his family were originally from the merchant class[80] in the Edo

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[80] His ancestor was a merchant who worked closely for Lord Satake. The Sekigahara war, between Lord Tokugawa and Lord Toyotomi, occurred in 1603. Lord Tokugawa won and Tokugawa family controlled Japan for over 250 years. Lord Satake was on Lord Toyotomi's side, Lord Tokugawa's enemy, and he was banished to Akita area from Ibaragi area, which is close to Tokyo. My grandfather's ancestors came with Lord Satake to Akita in 1603.

period (1603-1867), his parents owned their own store[81] selling seeds for farmers and he had eight brothers and sisters. Although my grandfather's family had been merchant class for several generations, they were not successful in maintaining their business and they were not so well-off. More importantly, because my grandfather was not the first son, he did not have an opportunity to inherit his family business and he went to work for a newspaper company.

My grandmother continued practising *ikebana* (flower arranging) and Urasenke *chadō* after she moved back to Akita. She practised Urasenke *chadō* at Takahashi-*sensei*'s class for over twenty years and eventually she also became an Urasenke *chadō sensei* in Akita. Takahashi-*sensei* (1897-1993) obtained her *chadō* instructors' diploma from Tantansai, the fourteenth generation Urasenke grand tea master, in 1928. My grandmother has been an Urasenke *chadō sensei* for over 35 years in Akita.

During daily conversations, my grandmother commented that she was very different from other women in the town. She said that she was different from other women because she was a '*sensei* (teacher)' of Urasenke *chadō*, therefore everyone knew her and she always had to dress respectably even when she went to the hospital or a grocery store. Every New Year, *chadō sensei*' names are listed in the cultural section of the local newspaper. My grandmother was proud that her name was on the newspaper and she always commented:

> Kaeko, here is your grandma's name. And listen, not every woman can be a *chadō sensei*! You have to be cultured, you have to spend such a long time studying *chadō* and you have to be clever and remember many things. It is not simple at all!

She continuously made comments about other women in the town. For instance, she said:

> Kaeko, look at the women who walk around in Akita city. I met one woman who looked around my age but her back was totally bent because of her work. I heard that she was a farmer. She obviously used to plant rice seed and mow the grass by bending her back all the time. And look at how she is now. She looked so old and miserable. But you know your grandmother is not like that. Thanks to *chadō*, I look perfect. My back is always straight and my posture is perfectly trained.

My grandmother's story reveals how much she struggled in life before her

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[81] They mainly sold seed in the spring time and households goods for the rest of the year.

marriage. Given this situation, Urasenke *chadō* seemed to have helped my grandmother to overcome the difficulties and disadvantages that she had in her childhood by providing a social mobility ladder in Akita city.

On the other hand, Orita-san, one of the *chadō* practitioners, told me that in her daily life she noticed different standard of etiquette between practitioners and non-practitioners in her daily life. During my interview with her, she had been practising *chadō* for only about one year at Anbo-*sensei*'s class. Everything about *chadō* seemed to be very new to Orita-san, she explained her thoughts on *chadō,* her eyes bright with enthusiasm. She commented that practitioners generally knew where exactly they should sit on the *tatami* floor when they enter a *tatami* room. She continued, 'practitioners recognise that an honoured guest should sit on the side of alcove and the rest of the guests should sit accordingly'. She criticised most non-practitioners for not knowing where to sit and for continually asking other people. Orita-san further commented that practitioners tend to have knowledge about art: 'at dining time, practitioners show appreciation not only for the food but also for the quality of the plates. Practitioners are interested in where the plates come from and how they are made. I think this is wonderful!' Orita-san complained that non-practitioners instead just ate the food. She added that:

> I really felt the difference between practitioners and non-practitioners. I was invited to dinner the other day and I met wonderful elegant women who knew all the etiquette and manners and later on I found that they were *chadō sensei* (teachers)! I want to be a *chadō* practitioner who is very cultured and can admire art in our daily lives.

Orita-san's account reminds us that *chadō* is recognised as a form of cultural knowledge in Akita city and it indicates that she understood the difference between people who had the knowledge and those who did not.

During her interview, Ikeda-*san* told me why she started practising *chadō*. She told me that she started to go to *chadō* classes since she thought she would improve her social network. She commented:

> My husband and I are not from Akita, we just moved here three years ago because of my husband's business. He is now the president of a small transportation company. And we were told occasionally that Akita's business or money depended on this social network. So, our friends strongly advised us to involve ourselves in some social activities to meet people. They said, "network is a good tool to show that you are in a good social position". Thus, my husband became a golf member in Akita Country Club and I started *chadō* at Anbo-*sensei*'s place. Well, then soon I met many people. In fact, I became

> acquainted with the wives of successful businessmen in Akita city. Thanks to *chadō* I have built up a good network in Akita city and this network definitely made my husband's business smooth and made our social position comfortable in Akita city.

Ikeda-*san* and her friend in Akita city seemed to recognise *chadō* as a helpful tool to acquire good social connections in Akita city.

What do non-practitioners think about Urasenke *chadō*? I had a chance to talk about *chadō* with one ex-practitioner's mother, Sato-*san*. She emphasised that *chadō* was very useful for her daughter, Mihoko-*san*. Sato-*san* was in her sixties and worked as a hair dresser. When I talked to Sato-*san*, Mihoko-*san* was no longer practising *chadō*, as she was busy working as a car sales manager and as a mother and a wife. While we were discussing Mihoko-*san*'s married life, she started to tell me about her thoughts on *chadō*.

> I think *chadō* was really good for Mihoko. As you know Mihoko's marriage was an arranged marriage. I think one of the reasons that Makoto-*san* decided to marry Mihoko was because of *chadō*. After the decision, we heard that Makoto-*san*'s mother was also practising *chadō*. They maybe thought that Mihoko was elegant and nice like his mother. I am just so relieved that she is married now and actually married to a decent man in Akita city. She will have Anbotter life with him in the future.

Mihoko-*san*'s father died when she was young and so, Sato-*san* explained, Mihoko-*san* did not have an easy childhood. Sato-*san* further described how it was hard for her to raise two children without any financial support from her relatives. Mihoko-*san*'s mother's story tells that Mihoko-*san* was not from a family who had sufficient financial stability, and Sato-*san* seemed to believe that *chadō* helped Mihoko-*san* to improve her social position by marrying a decent man in Akita city.

What of other non-practitioners, especially the cultured women in Akita city? What do they think about Urasenke *chadō* practitioners? Yokote-*san* was in her late fifties and she was recognised as a cultured woman in Akita city. She was a *koto* (Japanese harp) teacher and had recently received *Akitaken geijyutsu bunka korei shō* (the prize of a person of culture in Akita prefecture). She was the daughter of a medical doctor, a wife of the president of a *sake* (Japanese rice wine) brewing company and a member of Soroptimist International club. This Soroptimist club is a women's club and exists all over the world. Many wives of successful businessmen become members. Although she was very famous for her *koto* in Akita city, she was not snobbish but friendly. Yokote-*san* and I had an

opportunity to present Japanese traditional culture to a non-Japanese audience. There were musicians groups from a Japanese music band, a *Nihon buyō* (Japanese Dance) group and an Urasenke *chadō* group. At the opening ceremony of the Japanese culture event, *Nihon buyō* and *chadō* group members wore *kimono* with sashes. However, Japanese music band members were wearing *yukata.* Although *yukata* is also the traditional costume in Japan, it is recognised as the informal wear for summer time. *Kimono* tends to be made of silk but *yukata* is generally made of pure cotton. As soon as Yokote-*san* saw *yukata,* she criticised the band members.

> I do not mind being recognised along with the *chadō* practitioners but I do not want to be seen as belonging to that Japanese music band! They do not even know how to wear *kimono*, how disgraceful not to wear formal *kimono* in front of non-Japanese.

Yokote-*san*'s criticism appears to show that she, as a cultured woman in Akita city, acknowledged *chadō* practitioners as cultured people, who knew how to behave and dress appropriately to the occasion.

6.4 *Chadō* as cultural, symbolic, social and economic capital

From my grandmother's life story and my informants' comments about *chadō* it appears that Urasenke *chadō* is recognised as cultural, symbolic, social and economic capital and it is consciously used as a distinction of class. *Chadō* is considered as a tool for providing the marker and differentiating between practitioners and non-practitioners, especially the non-cultured women in Akita city. Moreover, *chadō* can be used as a stepping stone to improve women's social position in Akita city.

Yokote-san's account shows that Urasenke *chadō* is not used to distinguish between practitioners and non-practitioners who have other artistic skills such as violin or *koto* (Japanese harp). It is rather used to differentiate practitioners themselves from non-cultured women in Akita city who do not have any idea about what is regarded as high culture. This characteristic of *chadō* was evident in my grandmother's comment. She compared herself to a farmer in Akita, remarking that as a practitioner of *chadō* she was very different from such a non-cultured person. My grandmother was aware that Urasenke *chadō* required serious *benkyō* (study) and this study leads to extensive cultural knowledge in

Urasenke *chadō*. She emphasised her qualification as being *chadō sensei*. This is an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1986) and my grandmother used this cultural capital in order to differentiate herself from those who were not cultured and did not have this qualification. My grandmother also pointed out the differences in body posture, which is relevant to Bourdieu's (1984) concept of embodied form of cultural capital. Similarly, Orita-san's comment shows that *chadō* is also recognised as the providing good taste and good manners. Consequently, *chadō* is related to embodied cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1984: 6), good dining manners has been used as an indicator of class, *chadō* which teaches good manners is also used to differentiate practitioners from uncultured women in town.

Moreover, my grandmother's comment about her body posture can be related to the argument of Edith Turner (1992), which was discussed in Chapter Four. Her upright posture acquired through the strict discipline of *chadō* ritual gave her a sense of empowerment. Just as the Ndembu people, described by Turner (ibid.), acquired power and improved their condition by being involved in healing ritual, my grandmother also seemed to feel that her social status was enhanced through *chadō* ritual.

As I described in Chapter Two, Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital can be used as the distinction tool among people in their daily life in French society. According to Bourdieu (1984: 6), people 'distinguish themselves by the distinction they make' with reference to judgements of 'taste'; dominant class differentiate themselves from dominated class by denouncing and condemning the dominated class life-style and their 'taste' and imposing the dominant group's definition of good 'taste'. This argument is relevant to Urasenke *chadō* in Akita city. Urasenke *chadō* is recognised as a form of cultural capital and the dominant class taste. Consequently, *chadō* is used as a tool to acquire a new identity in the dominant class like my grandmother, or maintain one's existing identity in the dominant group.

My grandmother's story demonstrates that *chadō* is also recognised as symbolic capital and used as a distinction of class. She emphasised her honour and the cultural prestige as being as a respected *chadō sensei* and because of this prestige, she felt different from other women in Akita city. *Chadō sensei* meant so much to

my grandmother, since her future mother-in-law had once recognised her as not having a good social position and she was forced to acquire her good prestige: symbolic capital and cultural knowledge: cultural capital in society through practising *chadō*. Similarly, Mihoko-*san*'s story demonstrates that *chadō* is also regarded as valuable prestige: symbolic capital to improve her class position in Akita city. Bourdieu (1984) does not mention that symbolic capital can be used to distinguish class. This might be because it is not one of the elements he considers in relation to his definition of class in France. However, as stated before, symbolic capital is relevant to class discussion among *chadō* practitioners in Akita city and it is also used as a distinction of class.

With regard to conversion of capitals, we see that my grandmother and Mihoko-*san* were helped to acquire their relatively new social position as middle-class in this way. My grandmother converted economic capital: paying for *chadō* lessons into cultural and symbolic capital: *chadō* knowledge and the cultural prestige as *chadō sensei* in order to improve her position in the class structure in Akita city. Similarly, Mihoko-*san* also converted economic capital: paying for *chadō* lessons, into symbolic capital: cultural prestige. Furthermore, she converted this symbolic capital into greater amount of economic capital: marrying a man in a good social position and eventually acquiring economic stability from her husband's income and his family assets.

Additionally, Ikeda-*san* seemed to aware that *chadō* was a useful tool to obtain a social network in Akita city and to eventually acquire the socially good position in Akita city. It appears to me that Ikeda-*san* converted economic capital: paying for *chadō* lessons, into social capital: network in order to settle themselves at the appropriate position in Akita city. Consequently, Urasenke *chadō* is not only recognised as cultural capital but it is also recognised as symbolic, social and economic capital. Consciously, Urasenke *chadō* is used as tool to articulate an aesthetic and symbolic distance and to differentiate between practitioners and non-practitioners, especially 'the non-cultured women' in Akita city. Additionally, *chadō* has been used as a tool to improve women's social position in Akita's class structure.

6.5 Distinction among practitioners

I have already described that practitioners differentiate themselves from non-practitioners, especially non-cultured women, but among the practitioners themselves there also seem to be similar issues: practitioners tend to distinguish themselves from other practitioners. How do they do so? Is Urasenke *chadō* used by some practitioners as a valuable tool to draw a marker from other practitioners?

In the following section, I will examine this question with reference to seven phrases commonly used by practitioners, which are related to such distinctions: *community centre no hito* (a person from the community centre), *kayōbi no hito, suiyōbi no hito* (a person in the Tuesday class, a person in the Wednesday class), *futsūno no hito* (an ordinary person), *ganbaru hito* (a serious person), *subarashii kata* (a wonderful lady), and *Iitoko no ojyōsama* (a young lady from a good place).

6.5.1 *Community centre no hito* (a person from the community centre)

First of all, I realised that some practitioners and *sensei* were at pains to differentiate themselves from *community centre no hito* (a person from the community centre). *Community centre no hito* (a person from the community centre) means the practitioners who practise *chadō* at the public institutions such as the community centres and this practice is called '*soto-geiko*' (outside-practice). The public institution, such as the community centre, was recognised as *soto* (outside), and a private teacher's house was recognised as *uchi* (inside). Thus, a private teacher's house practice is called '*uchi-geiko*' (inside-practice).

Uchi-geiko (inside-practice) costs more than *soto-geiko* (outside-practice) in total. Firstly, *uchi-geiko* practitioners are expected to attend several more *chadō* occasions such as local tea gatherings and *chadō* seminars than *soto-geiko* practitioners and these events are generally not free of charge. Secondly, the lesson fees are more expensive at *uchi-geiko* than *soto-geiko*: *chadō* class fee in *soto-geiko* is 4,600 yen (around 23 GBP) per month, which is nearly half the price of *chadō* class at *uchi-geiko*. Many other cultural activities are held in the community centre such as aerobics, yoga, flamenco, sewing, *ikebana*, calligraphy, karaoke, poetry and English conversation and all these classes are much more

reasonably priced. The quality and the content of *chadō* class differ between *uchi-geiko* and *soto-geiko*. Because of lack of budget, *soto-geiko* practitioners in my mother and Anbo-*sensei*'s classes rarely make thick green powdered tea since thick green powdered tea needs three times more tea than thin green powdered tea.

Anbo-*sensei* organised the *henrei chakai* (reciprocal tea gathering) for all her students at her house to show her gratitude to them for helping her tea gathering held in Akita city. Since Anbo-*sensei* had more than 200 students by her own, this tea gathering was held over five sessions and I attended each one of them. At the tea gatherings, every female practitioner was wearing a nice *kimono* and hairstyle. Because they were invited to her tea gathering as guests, they were allowed to wear *hōmongi* style of *kimono*. *Hōmongi* is translated as visiting dress and this style of *kimono* has many decorations on the sleeves and the lower part of the dress[82]. Since the tea gathering was held at the beginning of autumn, some of them were wearing *kimonos* which were decorated with beautiful motifs of *susuki* (Japanese pampas grass), *kikyō* (vine) or bright red and yellow leaves.

At one session, Anbo-*sensei* offered me the position of *shōkyaku* (the first guest), which is the most honourable guest position, and she said:

> This afternoon, the guests will be all from the community centre. Even though they are much older than you, they basically don't know anything about *chadō*. So, why don't you be the first guest and you can study the role of being first guest, it is a great chance for you!

Therefore, I eventually became the first guest and studied this guest role[83]. Anbo-*sensei* had a clear distinction between *uchi-geiko* and *soto-geiko* practitioners and she appeared not to pay great respect to practitioners from *soto-geiko*. Anbo-*sensei* almost sounded as if she was discriminating against *soto-geiko* practitioners. What then are these practitioners like?

The atmosphere of the class was quite similar to the other classes. However, as I got to know the informants, I realised that practitioners of *soto-geiko*

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[82] When practitioners are assigned as hostesses, they are recommended to wear *montsuki* (crested *kimono*) and this *kimono* is simple compared with *hōmongi*.

[83] This situation might have been different if there had been a male practitioner from the community centre.

(outside-practice) tended to have different backgrounds from *uchi-geiko* (inside-practice). Firstly, some of the practitioners in *soto-geiko* were engaging in a different type of work from most of the *uchi-geiko* practitioners. One practitioner in her sixties was complaining of pain in her shoulder and arms while we were practising a tea procedure for an even in the following month event. She said to me, 'this pain is coming from my work, I am carrying many heavy plates all the time but I cannot have a day-off since nobody else is available'. I realised that she was a full-time waitress. It was very unusual for a middle-class or upper-middle class female of her age to work as a waitress.[84] I did not meet any *chadō* practitioner at *uchi-geiko* who worked as a waitress.

Secondly, some of the practitioners in *soto-geiko* (outside-practice) tended to have fewer resources to practise *chadō* than *uchi-geiko* (inside-practice) practitioners; they did not own *kimonos*. One day after the class at *soto-geiko*, I was invited to go with them to a second hand *kimono* shop. The shop was right opposite the community centre and the owner sold second hand *obi* (sash) and other accessories for *kimonos*. One of the practitioners, Yoshiya-*san*, mentioned to me:

> This kind of second hand shop really helps me. I do not have any *kimono* at home and I know that we have to wear *kimono* for special tea practices. Normally, the price of a new *kimono* and *obi* is very high, but the price here is reasonable so I can buy several different types of *obi* too.

Eventually, six of us went to the shop and four of them bought an *obi* for only 15 GBP each. Yoshiya-*san* further commented that 'at the class at *uchi-geiko*, there is such an atmosphere that it is almost taboo to talk about the second hand *kimono* shop, but it is so helpful for us to have this *kimono* shop!' Many of them left the shop with happy faces, promising each other that they would come back again.

This distinction between *uchi-geiko* (inside-practice) and *soto-geiko* (outside-practice) practitioners was also visibly apparent on the physical space of the *tatami* floor. At the formal greeting between teachers and practitioners, before and after the *chadō* classes, Anbo-*sensei* asked practitioners to sit in the order of their *chadō* rank level; professor, associate professor, *chamei* (professional *chadō* name) holders and so on. And the last part of this order was

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[84] Young female students in the middle or upper-middle class may work as waitresses as a part time job.

practitioners from *soto-geiko*. Therefore, Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* distinguished between the people who practise at the public institutions and those from the private teacher's house classes. The practitioners who were involved at the public institutions were not considered as being as serious in obtaining *chadō* knowledge and they did not have the financial ability to attend private *chadō* classes. They tended to be recognised as being at the bottom of the *chadō* hierarchy system. Then, how can people find out about *uchi-geiko*? Ando-*san* told me that *uchi-geiko* in Anbo-*sensei*'s class was only accessible to the people who had a recommendation from Anbo-*sensei*'s acquaintances. People in Akita city received this recommendation through social networks: through their friends or colleagues or their husbands' colleagues. By contrast, most of the practitioners in *soto-geiko* said that they joined the *chadō* class through a newspaper advertisement. One of the practitioners, Sochi-*san* mentioned, 'if you know the right person, you will get to the right place.' A good social network seems to be important to be involved with *uchi-geiko*.

6.5.2 *Kayōbi no hito, Suiyōbi no hito* (a person in the Tuesday class, a person in the Wednesday class)

As I discussed before, Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* made a clear distinction among their practitioners in *uchi-geiko* (inside-practice). Takeda-*san* told me that the practitioners at Anbo-*sensei* class were divided by different social groupings in Akita city. There were morning and afternoon classes on Tuesday and when I attended a Tuesday morning class for the first time, Anbo-*sensei* said:

> This class is recognised as the class for *suki-sha*. *Suki-sha* is the *chadō* practitioner who may have disciples but just chooses not to teach *chadō*. So, even though they are not teachers they are highly knowledgeable about Urasenke *chadō*.

Most of Tuesday class practitioners were from old elites such as ex-landowners and ex-merchant class and also were financially well-off, which meant that they did not have to become *chadō* teachers.

In contrast to the Tuesday class, the Wednesday class had a stricter atmosphere. On Wednesdays, Anbo-*sensei* taught in the morning, afternoon and the evening. She opened the evening class so that people who were working could also attend *chadō* lessons. Monoo-*san*, who was in the Wednesday morning class told me that

many practitioners in the Wednesday classes wanted to become teachers and therefore practitioners on Wednesday (*Suiyōbi no hito*) were stricter with each other and competed with each other. Monoo-*san* was in her late thirties. She was originally from Fukuoka prefecture, and so, she did not have a strong Akita dialect like other practitioners. She added, 'you see I only know this difference because I attended the other class last week. I was just so surprised that people are more relaxed in the Tuesday class'.

Indeed, this different atmosphere was apparent. Terakado-*san,* as one of the *anedeshi-san* (big sister disciples) of the Wednesday classes, always shouted to practitioners when she gave them orders. And if the *suiyōbi no hito* kept on making mistakes, Terakado-*san* screamed, 'do not do the mistake again and again at the same place!' However, I rarely heard these comments made to practitioners in the Tuesday classes, the tone of the voice of the *anedeshi-san* and even Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* were always calm and polite on Tuesdays to their old elite practitioners. So far, I have described how practitioners differentiate by groups, Now, the question arises as to how the practitioners differentiate themselves from one another. In the following sections, I will attempt to answer this question.

6.5.3 *Futsū no hito* (an ordinary person)

Takema-*san* was a *chadō* practitioner at Anbo-*sensei*'s class and her family owned *ryōtei* (an upmarket Japanese restaurant) called Hama. Hama was a well-known *ryōtei* in Akita city and many important business meetings and gatherings were held at this *ryōtei*. Takema-*san*'s grandfather-in-law used to be the cook in another restaurant and he opened his own *ryōtei*, Hama in 1918. Takema-*san*'s mother-in-law started to practise Urasenke *chadō* and she became a *chadō sensei* teacher. She even built a teahouse at her *ryōtei* and she received the name of Yuichian for the teahouse from Hōunsai, the former Urasenke tea grand master. However, Igarashi-*san* told me that Takema-*san*'s mother-in-law (1920-2005) was recognised as a person who only started *chadō* in order to use Urasenke *chadō* as a means of acquiring cultural knowledge (since her husband was recognised simply as a cook) and she used *chadō* to improve the business by using the *chadō* network, and organising *chadō* seminars and gatherings in Hama. In fact, Takema-*san* herself told me that Anbo-*sensei* as the head of Urasenke *chadō* Akita

branch, chose Hama for the New Year tea gathering venue since her mother-in-law had been heavily engaged with Urasenke *chadō* for a long period of time. Additionally, Takema-*san* said to me, 'I am only doing *chadō*, *ikebana* (flower arrangement) and golf in order to get the business network, otherwise, I would not do these kinds of things! I am a busy person'.

Did Takema-*san* seriously need the Urasenke *chadō* connection in order to provide business for Hama? Indeed, *ryōtei* (an upmarket restaurant) like Hama were having a difficult time surviving compared to Takema-*san*'s parents' generation. It used to be quite common for local politicians and government officers to entertain their guests, colleagues and clients with extravagant dinners. However, in Takema-*san*'s generation, these customs were recognised as wasting public money and described as illicit. During the past few years, including my fieldwork time in 2004-2005, several upmarket entertainment places such as The Akita Club, Akita New Grand Hotel had gone bankrupt. From these circumstances, it appeared that Takema-*san* was serious in trying to get the business from Urasenke *chadō* society, since a considerable amount of Hama income was derived from Urasenke *chadō* related events, such as the New Year tea gathering for all *chadō* practitioners in Akita city. When we had lunch boxes (cost 2500 yen, around 10 GBP) at Urasenke *chadō* occasions, Anbo-*sensei* often ordered them from Hama.

Takema-*san* further insisted that having social networks was considerably important for businesses in Akita city. She said:

> Kaeko-*san*, remember that connection are so important! Akita's business and politics are all connected to *cone* (network). There is no free market to be honest. This is why it is so important to engage with something that Akita big people are involved in. So, in order to meet these kinds of big people, my husband and I play golf on the weekend. Instead of hitting balls, I think we are just so busy bowing to players. I became the member of Lions Club too. Yes, the annual membership costs about 120.000 yen (600 GBP), it is a bit pricey. But if you think about the fact that we can acquire many connections, it is really worth paying the money.

Lions Club is the club that also exists all over the world. In Akita city, this club was well known as the gathering place of successful businessmen and women.

Some practitioners, therefore, who were keen to study Urasenke *chadō* more deeply, and those practitioners who did not use Urasenke *chadō* for business

purposes like Takema-*san* family made many negative comments about Takema-*san* and they tried to differentiate themselves from Takema-*san* and her mother-in-law.

As the following incident demonstrates, practitioners like Tsukada-*san* seemed to mark themselves out of such women by emphasising their family background. Tsukada-*san* was in her early late fifties. She was always quiet and rarely smiled. Her facial expression tended to be blank and thus, her face reminded me of a *nōh* (classical Japanese dance-drama) mask, which has no facial expression[85]. I only noticed her existence from Anbo-*sensei*'s introduction. She introduced Tsukada-*san* to me saying that she was one of the practitioners who had been practising at Anbo-*sensei*'s place for the longest time. Tsukada-*san* was originally from the family of powerful landowners in Akita city and she married the son of the Tsukada family. The Tsukada family became successful as *gofukuya* (*kimono* dealers) at the end of the Edo period (1603-1867) in Akita city. At the same time, they bought much land and became powerful landowners. After the Second World War, they gradually shifted their business to an estate agency and own many buildings in downtown Akita city. Tsukada-*san*'s husband was the president of his estate agents company and also the vice-president of Urasenke *chadō* Akita branch. Like Yokote-*san*, Tsukada-*san* herself was also a member of Soroptimist international in Akita branch.

One day, I had a chance to sit close to Tsukada-*san* and her friends at the meeting about the forthcoming Urasenke *chadō* events at Anbo-*sensei*'s house. Takema-*san* was in front of everyone and reported the budget for events. After her report, Tsukada-*san* whispered to one of her friends:

> I am just tired of listening to Takema-*san*, she keeps on saying 'please use Hama at the Urasenke *chadō* meetings or your private occasions' even to other practitioners in Akita city. It is just an embarrassment. I do not want to be categorised as the same kind of person. Don't you agree? We are not like her, are we? Most of us are from the families which do not have financial difficulties. She is just a *futsū no hito* (ordinary person) who is desperate for money.

Tsukada-*san's* whispered comment shows that she wanted to differentiate herself

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[85] This seems to be related to Lebra's (1993) discussion about appropriate behaviour for those in the upper-class. As discussed in previous chapter, Lebra (ibid.) pointed out that the upper-class are trained from childhood not to show their emotions or attitudes in public. Tsukada-*san* as an upper-class woman may also have been strictly trained not to show her feelings in public. This may be the reason that she rarely smiled in her *chadō* class.

from Takema-*san* by emphasising Tsukada-*san* and her friend's family background and financial superiority as such.

6.5.4 *Ganbaru hito* (a serious person)

I heard that some practitioners used this phrase, *ganbaru hito* (a serious person), to describe other practitioners who practised or taught Urasenke *chadō* seriously at *chamei* or *sensei* (teacher) level but did not have much *zai* (money). *Chamei* is the level obtained when a practitioner has mastered at least 200 different kinds of tea procedures and holds considerable knowledge about the historical background of utensils, flowers, calligraphy and *kaiseki* (Japanese gourmet dishes). Tsukida-san was often described as '*ganbaru hito*'. She was around her early fifties, was not married and was working as a kindergarten teacher. She had been practising Urasenke *chadō* for more than fifteen years and had already received the '*chamei*' title. Compared to other practitioners, she was very enthusiastic about Urasenke *chadō* and she was also a member of the *seinenbu* (*chadō* youth group). The *seinenbu,* always tried to organise the *chadō* gatherings and events at weekends and this group of members were well known for having a busy schedule.

A graduation ceremony was held for Tsukida-san at one *seinenbu* gathering. Practitioners have to leave *seinenbu,* when they become fifty years old[86]. She gave a speech and commented that Urasenke *chadō* and *seinenbu* activities were her life and she recalled memories with tears in her eyes. One of the practitioners, Sakai-san mentioned to me right after her speech:

> Indeed, she is *ganbaru hito,* she occasionally orders crested *kimonos* and utensils for events and tea gathering. Her parents were elementary school teachers, so she does not have much support from her natal family. She must have used all her salary from her kindergarten. It is amazing isn't it?

Once practitioners reach a certain level, they are expected to wear *montsuki* (crested *kimonos*) for formal occasions. *Montsuki* has the family mark or crest on its sleeves and back of the neck. *Montsuki* turns out to be more expensive than cost more money than the other types of *kimonos* since one has to purchase a good quality kimono to be crested and has to pay for the special stitching for their

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[86] It used to be forty years old. However, because of the aging of *chadō* practitioners, the *chadō* school decided to raise the graduation age of *seinenbu* to fifty years old.

family mark to be done by a *gofukuya* (*kimono* dealer).

Indeed, in reality, *chadō* costs a considerable amount of money for practitioners who wish to acquire a higher level of *chadō* qualification. For instance, in order to apply for a *chamei* (professional *chadō* name), practitioners have to provide in total some 240,000 yen (around 1,200 GBP), of which 110,000 yen will go directly to Urasenke foundation in Kyoto. The rest goes directly to the *sensei* as *ostustumi. Ostustumi* is literally translated as wrapping (as in gift wrapping) but it means a gratitude fee. Then, when a practitioner wants to attain a *jyun-kyōjyu kyojō* (associate professor qualification), it cost 260,000 yen. Finally for *kyōjyu kyojō* (professor qualification), it cost 1,500,000 yen[87].

Moreover, I heard that practitioners in Anbo-*sensei*'s class who acquired the new *chadō* qualification of the *chamei* (professional *chadō* name) level had to organise a tea gathering for the rest of their colleagues and teachers. Thus, practitioners had to rent a big room, prepare utensils and *kimonos*. In order to organise this tea gathering, practitioners generally had to spend considerable money. One of the practitioners, Sato-*san* mentioned to me that if a practitioner does not have any *chadō* background[88], she or he had to prepare about one million yen (around 5,000 GBP) for organising a tea gathering.

Additionally, I learned that practitioners ascend the hierarchy, they had more occasions to be invited for special *chadō* study groups and tea gatherings and had more occasions to spend money. For instance, practitioners above the *chamei* (professional *chadō* name) level were encouraged to attend special *chaji* (formal tea ceremony) study groups in order to learn the deeper part of *chadō*. For attending this special study group such as *kuchikiri no chaji* (special tea ceremony for fresh tea leaves) study group, practitioners were encouraged to pay an extra 10,000 yen (50 GBP) for one lesson and these kinds of special study groups tended to be organised once every couple of months. Moreover, practitioners above the *chamei* level had to give an *oiwai* (gratitude fee) whenever they were

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[87] This *ostustumi* to a *chadō sensei* does not mean that the *chadō sensei* receives a considerable amount of money from their students. Of the 130,000 yen that goes directly to a *chadō sensei* as *ostustumi* the *sensei* has to give *hangaeshi* (half back gratitude fee) to the student. A *chadō sensei* gives this back as gifts such as a tea bowl or a water container which is equivalent to about 70.000 yen. Therefore, the *sensei* only receives about 60.000 yen.

[88] When I say '*chadō* background', I am referring to the valuable collections of tea utensils and *kimonos*, often built up by families over generations.

invited to a tea gathering and the *oiwai* got higher as the practitioners received higher qualifications. For instance, when a practitioner at *jyun-kyōju* (associate professor) level was invited to a tea gathering, she or he had to bring 5,000 yen as *oiwai*. However, when the practitioner in the *kyōju*(professor) level was invited to a tea gathering, she or he had to bring 10,000 yen as *oiwai*.

Therefore, receiving and maintaining a *chadō* qualification above the *chamei* (professional *chadō* name) level cost a considerable amount of money and this was the reason that some of the practitioners refused to attend advanced *chadō* level classes. Sato-*san*, commented that she was considering not proceeding beyond the *chamei* level since she was not financially well-off. She explained to me that she and her husband were both retired and only lived from their pensions without family support. Sato-*san* thought *chadō* at a high-level was very expensive to practise.

Going back to the discussion of Tsukida-san, Sakai-san continued:

> I think the dedication and the level of the efforts differs. Look at Akiko-*san*, she is the daughter of an Urasenke *chadō* teacher and the wife of a lawyer in Akita city. She already has *kimonos*, utensils and money to do *chadō*. Tsukida-san has to make more effort than Akiko-*san*.

Indeed, I agree with this informant's comment. The last time I heard about Akiko-*san* was that she was busy and stressed about her son's entrance examination for high school. Akiko-*san* sounded like a typical middle-class *kyōiku mama* (education mother) which Liddle (2000) and Kondo (1990) described (see Chapter Five). Therefore, although Tsukida-san*'s chamei* qualification put her on the same cultural level as other practitioners, some practitioners seemed to distinguish themselves from Tsukida-san by emphasising her economic position. Additionally, Sakai-san's comment demonstrated that she distinguished Tsukida-san from Akiko-*san* by emphasising their different family background.

Similar comments of *ganbaru-hito* were heard about Fuku-*san* and Chida-sensei. Fuku-*san* lived outside Akita city and she always came to the Tuesday *chadō* class. Fuku-*san* was single, in her late forties and worked as a hairdresser. She attended the Tuesday class because of her work: hairdressers generally close on Tuesdays in Japan and Fuku-san also had a day-off every Tuesday. Hojyo-*san* said:

> She is a hairdresser and wants to be an Urasenke *chadō sensei* too, she wants to be a professional Urasenke *chadō sensei* and live on both the incomes. Since her *jiika* (natal family) members cannot do much to support her, I guess that she has to support herself, She is always in good spirits and indeed, is a *ganbaru hito*. She is more of a *ganbaru hito* than any other practitioners in our class.

Chida-sensei was also single, in her early seventies and involved with Urasenke *chadō* for a quite a long time. Although, Chida-sensei was an Urasenke *chadō sensei* and a committee member in the Akita Urasenke *chadō* branch for a number of years, some practitioners seemed to differentiate themselves from her because of her economic situation. While we were watching Chida-sensei 's performance on the stage at a *kenkyukai* (seminar), one practitioner, Matsuha-san commented:

> She collected everything from scratch, the wonderful utensils, *kimono*, her tea house and her cultured skill. Nobody helped her financially, her father was a simple barber in Akita city, so she must have devoted her life and her money only to *chadō* and nothing else. She must have worked so hard. She is a real *ganbaru hito*. I can never do that! Compared to her, I am really spoiled, I only started Urasenke *chadō* because I already had utensils and *kimonos* in my house. I think it is such a pity to keep nice calligraphy or vases at the house storage.

Again, it seemed apparent that Matsuha-san drew a line between Chida-sensei and herself by emphasising Matsuha-san's hereditary assets such as her *kahō* (family treasure).

At a tea gathering, the host is expected to entertain the guests with appropriate utensils. These appropriate utensils are decided upon by reviewing the aim, the size of the tea gathering and by the season. If the tea gathering is fairly big and heavily related to the Urasenke Foundation in Kyoto, the host is expected to entertain with utensils related to the Urasenke grand tea master. These are recommended by the grand tea master, such as utensils from *Senke jyushoku,* the Ten Artisans of the Sen Family, who are craftsman families traditionally linked to the Sen Family. In reality, these utensils which are recognised or made by the grand tea master are very expensive and these utensils have '*hakogaki* (box writing)', which means that there is a signature of a grand tea master on the box of the utensils. Each utensil can cost up to of two million yen (10,000 pounds). Ownership of these utensils is also considered to show an impressive social position.

6.5.5 *Subarashii kata*[89] (a wonderful person)

At the *chadō* class, we were discussing some tea gatherings which were held in February 2004. The most impressive tea gathering for me was performed by a hostess coming from Yuzawa city in Akita prefecture. She was very modest and she did not only talk about the quality of utensils, but she also stressed how happy she was to present this tea gathering in Akita city. She described how happy she was to meet so many new guests since she could not meet many new guests in Yuzawa city. Another of her discussion points was the weather and scenery in Akita city, I never felt that she was very snobbish, she put her guests at ease and it appeared that all the guests were relaxed and enjoyed her presentation.

However, many practitioners mentioned that Kishino-sensei's tea gathering was also very impressive and spoke of her as the *subarashii kata* (wonderful person). Kishino-sensei presented an eleventh generation Oohi tea bowl. Oohi bowls were not from the *Senke Jyushoku*, the Ten Artisans of the Sen Family. The way of making these Oohi tea bowls was influenced by one of the Ten Artisans, Raku. The tea bowl was from the Kanazawa prefecture and it was at least 100 years old, and valued at three million yen (15,000 GBP). Kishino-sensei also added during the tea gathering that 'this is the youngest Oohi tea bowl that we have in our family'. My mother also evaluated the *kimonos* they were wearing highly, but the final decision on which was the best tea gathering was based on the quality of the tea utensils.

At the end of Kishino-sensei's tea gathering, my mother and I met one of the Urasenke committee members, Yokota-*sensei*. Yokota-*sensei* was admiring the success of Kishino-sensei's tea gathering in a discussion with my mother. She continued:

> I think we should ask Kishino-sensei to do another tea event for next year. The person who organises the tea event has to be a *subarashii kata* (wonderful person). The person has to have decent cultural knowledge from her good upbringing, good finance, prestigious utensils from their family and good *cone* (network) to organise the nice locations and invite nice guests in Akita city. Yes, you see Kishino-sensei invited her wonderful guests through her relatives' help. I think this is what we need. *Kama wo kakerukoto wa meiyo na koto* (to organise a tea gathering is a prestigious thing) and it is every practitioner's dream. But these kinds of events cannot be done by normal practitioners.

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89 '*Kata*' is honourific phrase of '*hito* (human being)'.

It appears that Yokota-*sensei* distinguished Kishino-sensei as *subarashii kata* from other practitioners because of her cultural knowledge, wealth, her network and her treasures derived from her family background.

I heard similar comments of '*subarashii kata*' regarding Naraoka-*san*. Naraoka-*san* was asked to present a tea gathering at Senshu Park in June. This Senshu chakai (Senshu tea gathering) is known as the biggest public tea gathering in the Akita area and it has been carried out for more than thirty years. For this tea gathering, Naraoka-*san* prepared many exquisite utensils. For instance, the kettle was the Fuji gama (Fuji kettle), which was in the shape of mount Fuji. She explained that her grandmother bought the kettle a long time ago and the kettle itself was more than 150 years old. The kettle made a sound which changed depending on the temperature of the hot water. The lid rest was an ink stick rest that Naraoka-*san*'s grandfather bought during the Meiji period (1868-1912). The hanging scroll was a picture of a Taoist utopia[90], painted by Kano Eishin, one of the famous painters during the Edo period (1603-1867). Naraoka-*san* mentioned that the painting was more than 250 years old. Every utensil came from the Naraoka's family, who had a successful merchant history of more than 400 years. When she was explaining the utensils, she mentioned, 'see all these utensils which come from my *kura* (storehouse) I was fortunate that I did not have to buy any utensils by myself!'

Indeed, Naraoka-*san* had many precious utensils and she often used these at her *chadō* classes. I also visited Naraoka-*san*'s *chadō* classes regularly and when I first came to her classroom, one of Naraoka-*san*'s practitioners, Watana-*san* explained Naraoka-*san*'s class as follows:

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[90] Taoism is a principal philosophy and system of religion of ChiNaraokased on the teaching of Lao-tzu in the sixth century B.C and subsequent revelations (Young 1970). Taoism believes in *shinsen* (a person who has acquired supernatural powers) and in solitary supra natural utopia islands in a far-off sea inhabited by *shinsen*. A spring on each island, from which the shinsen drank, was believed to bestow on its drinkers perennial youth and longevity. In contrast to Confucianism and Zen Buddhism, Taoism accepts and emphasises real life and seeks the beauty in this life. The influence of Taoist philosophy was so strongly felt that the significance of life came to be thought to lie in the doing of thing rather than in the deed; in the process rather than the final completion. It also encourages freedom and individualism. This Taoism has been introduced by Okakura (1989) as the character of *chadō* and Okakura (ibid.). emphasises that *chadō* is categorised not only as the enlightenment path from Zen Buddhism but also as the enjoyment of art (cited in Tachiki 1998).

> I am just so fortunate to practice *chadō* at Naraoka-*sensei*'s place. As you know the Naraoka family has a long and prestigious history in Akita city, so she has so many precious utensils for *chadō*. And Naraoka-*sensei* kindly lets us use them for ordinary practice time. The quality of every utensil is on a *kokuhō* (national treasure) level. It is really amazing.

Naraoka-*san* added to Watana-*san*'s comment, 'I find these utensils from my *kura* (storehouse). I think it is better for utensils to be used rather to let it sleep in the *kura* for long period of time. I think all these utensils are much happier'.

Handa (2005) explains that if the owner has *kura* in his or her house, it means that the household is from the old elite. *Kura* is a storehouse or warehouse and it is made of thick fireproof walls to protect valuable items from theft and natural disasters. From the middle of the Edo period (1606-1868), people who had precious family treasures started to have a *kura* next to their house in Akita city (Yamada 2005). Indeed, Naraoka-*san* had a *kura* and the Naraoka family were the biggest merchants during the Edo period (1603-1867) in Akita. The Naraoka family also had a close bond with Lord Satake and were even wealthier than he was.

Naraoka-*san* herself was a direct descendent of the Naraoka family and her husband was from a different prefecture and he was the president of the Naraoka Company. Although his business as a *gofukuya* (*kimono* dealer) had declined, the Naraoka family expanded their business to include an estate agency in Akita city. Naraoka-san's son worked for about five years at an estate agency and then also received training outside the Akita area to become a sake brewer. Once he completed his training, he was ready to come back to Akita city and carry on the family business.

At the tea gathering, many of Naraoka-*san*'s employees were helping: washing tea bowls, fetching water and with serving sweets and bowls of tea to guests. It appeared that this public tea gathering was also a great opportunity for the Naraoka family to show the Akita public that their business was successful by showing their employees' devotion to the Naraoka family. She commented to me that she was fortunate that all of their employees were happy to offer help with her tea gathering. Many guests, including Funaki-*san,* Sugidate-*san* and Sato-*san* said that Naraoka-*san* was a *subarashii kata* (wonderful lady) and that she was not only cultured in *chadō* but also she had great utensils to match. The guests were

also able to admire how the Naraoka family's business was prospering by looking at all their employees at the tea gathering.

Naraoka-san told me that her grandmother used to be a committee member in Urasenke *chadō* society. Committee members had an obligation to organise tea gathering events in Akita city. Naraoka-*san*'s grandmother was asked several times to organise tea gatherings using her own money, tea utensils and practitioners but she refused all of these requests because she believed that spending her family money at tea gatherings was not appropriate for her family and it wasted family assets. Naraoka-*san* became a committee member after her grandmother's official retirement. Naraoka-*san* did not follow her grandmother's policies and apparently she decided to organise Senshu Chakai with her *kahō* (family treasure). She commented in my interview:

> I do not agree with my grandmother's policy. I think organising a tea gathering has a great appeal to society. I think that through tea gathering, Akita people will recognise that the Naraoka family is still fine and in good shape and such a reputation will definitely benefits to our business in the future.

Other practitioners appeared not to attain this kind of distinction, which Kishino-sensei and Naraoka-*san* have, even if they may have nice utensils. Right after Naraoka-san's tea gathering, a public tea gathering was held in Kakudate city in Akita prefecture. I went to this event with the same members who went to Naraoka-*san*'s tea gathering. The practitioners commented that there were plenty of old and expensive utensils and Funaki-*san* took many pictures of the utensils since she was so excited.[91] After taking pictures, Funaki-*san* commented, 'but can you feel that this tea gathering is somehow different from Naraoka-*san*'s one? Yes, there are so many old utensils but you know that they just have money and purchased these from the antique shop or from the dealer. But Naraoka-*san*'s tea gathering was different, every utensil represented a precious history. I have to say here that she is a *subarashii kata* (wonderful person).

Practitioners never commented that the host in Kakudate city was *subarashii kata* (wonderful person), Instead, they said, 'the reason the host could display such a high level quality of utensils is because she is the wife of a man who is connected with construction companies'. Apparently, construction companies used to

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91 Actually it was not allowed to take pictures at a tea gathering.

generate a considerable amount of money in the countryside around Akita city, and had a reputation for being wealthy. Sugidate-*san* further said, 'of course, she is connected with construction companies, they have lots of money! But she is *nariagari* (nouveau riche), we can see clearly that she is not cultured enough!' They also commented that this level of utensils was not appropriate at a normal tea gathering, but they were appropriate for bigger and more important levels of tea gatherings. This implied that this hostess, the construction company wife, was not cultured enough to recognise which utensils were appropriate at certain tea gatherings. There was an unspoken rule concerning the number of utensils with the signature from the grand tea master to be used, depending on the level of the tea gathering. It appeared that practitioners differentiated Naraoka-*san* as *subarashii kata* from another hostess in a tea gathering. Additionally, Naraoka-*san*'s family background with its store of *chadō* utensils was emphasised as one of the core reasons for making the distinction.

6.5.6 *Iitoko no ojyōsama* (a young lady from a good place)

These kinds of distinctions among practitioners seem to be not only in *chadō* in Akita city but elsewhere. When I attended the 50th anniversary of Urasenke's official presence in Latin America, some of the young practitioners were asked to be assistants to the grand tea master on the stage. I became quite close to one of the practitioners on the stage, Yoshi-*san* since we were both about the same age while most other participants were older. When she was on the stage, I was immediately asked by some practitioners about Yoshi-*san*. 'Who is she?', I answered, 'she is the daughter of Fukujyuen'. Fukujyuen was one of the largest tea companies in Japan and everyone had heard of this name. Then, they continued, 'and she practises tea, does she? Where does she practise?' So, I answered, 'she is practising at Sumire-kai, directly from the tea grand master.' Sumire-kai was the *chadō* group for single females and they were taught directly by the *iemoto* (grand tea master) in Kyoto. Many *chadō* practitioners knew that very few single females were allowed to join this Sumire-kai, and that they had to be introduced by somebody else who is connected to Urasenke. For instance, Yoshi-*san* was introduced by her father, who had a business relationship with Urasenke as the dealer of *matcha* (green powdered tea) for *chadō* and also practised tea directly with the former grand tea master. Then, Tokoro-*san* commented:

> Well, then she is really an *iitoko no ojyōsama* (a young lady from a good place)! She is from such a good family. She must be cultured, with *zai* (money) even though she is very young. She is in the perfect position to do *chadō*. I am so different.....

I also heard this phrase '*iitoko no ojyosama*' about Tsushima-*san* in Akita city. Tsushima-*san* was originally from Osaka area and she had an arranged marriage with the Tsushima family. The Tsushima family were well known as successful merchants in Akita Prefecture from the end of the Edo period (1603-1867). The Tsushima family started their business in 1856 as a *gofukuya* (kimono dealer) and they gradually expanded the business to include a local bank, a department store, a multi purpose entertainment hall, a cable TV supplier and diverse estate agencies. Tsushima-*san*'s father-in-law was the representative director of the largest local bank in Akita prefecture, the chairman of the Akita Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the chairman of the Rotary International Club and head of the Urasenke Akita branch. In fact, he maintained a tight bond to the Urasenke Foundation in Kyoto since he donated a considerable amount to Urasenke. More importantly, this bond was derived from the fact that the Tsushima family used to support Urasenke by sending a considerable amount of Akita's rice to Kyoto during the Second World War because of shortage of rice. Because of this close bond, Tsushima-*san* told me that the Urasenke grand tea master also attended her wedding to congratulate the Tsushima family.

Not only did the Tsushima-family belong to the old elite in Akita city, but Tsushima-*san*'s *jiika* (natal family) was also from an old elite family in the Osaka area. Tsushima-*san* was originally from the Matsudaira family in Osaka area and this family was well known as relatives of the Tokugawa family who controlled Japan during the Edo period (1603-1867). Her father was the governor of the Osaka prefecture and after his death in 2004, Tsushima-*san*'s elder brother was in charge of the Matsudaira family. Tsushima-*san* told me that his brother had an arranged marriage with the Mōri family. The powerful Lord Mōri was in charge of the Yamaguchi area in the western part of Japan during the Edo period (1603-1867). Tsushima-*san*'s sister-in-law also practised Urasenke *chadō* at Sumire-kai, directly from the tea grand master, like Yoshi-*san* in Kyoto.

Tsushima-*san* practised her *chadō* on Tuesday at Anbo-*sensei*'s place and Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* were polite and never shouted at Tsushima-*san*. Tsushima-*san* never looked as if she was particularly serious in practising *chadō*. I

never saw a drastic improvement in her tea procedure skill and she also commented to me that she rarely studied *chadō* at home. Despite this fact, I never saw Anbo-*sensei* and Kobaya-*sensei* criticising Tsushima-*san* during my fieldwork. Additionally, when she came for tea gatherings, she was often guided to sit at the *shōkyaku* (first guest's place), which is the most honoured seat. Moreover, Tsushima-san was often selected to perform *temae* (tea procedure) at important *chadō* occasions. Anbo-*sensei* was planning a large tea gathering event in Akita city in September 2004. Anbo-*sensei* selected about ten practitioners to perform tea ceremony on the stage and Tsushima-*san* was one of them. Anbo-*sensei* announced the member of performers three months before the event and encouraged them to practise as much as possible. Most of the performers came to practise constantly except Tsushima-*san* and the rest of the practitioners started to complain about her. One of the performers, Minato-*san,* said:

> I know that Tsushima-*san* is an *iitoko no ojyōsama* (young lady from a good place), but this is not fair. Even if she is the daughter-in-law of Tsushima-*san*, who holds a powerful position in Akita, it does not mean that she can do whatever in this *chadō* class. She really should practise *temae* (tea procedure) hard as we do. In fact, life is not fair. Because she is indeed *iitoko no ojyōsama,* she is always selected to perform *temae* on the stage even she does not practise tea, like this time. Tsushima-san always sucks the best juice.

The rest of the performers just nodded without hesitation. The rest of the performers seemed to assume that there was a distinction between Tsushima-*san* and other practitioners. Moreover, they perceived that Tsushima-*san* was differentiated from the rest of the practitioners in Anbo-*sensei*'s class because of her old elite family background with its tight connections to Urasenke headquarters in Kyoto.

6.6 Old elite[92] family background as economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital

So far, we have looked at the social circumstances of *chadō* practitioners. Is

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[92] Marcus (1983) points out that the definition of 'elite' is ambiguous among social scientists. However, Marcus understands 'elite' as fairly small dominant group which generally have the economic, political, and cultural power in a society. 'The concept of elite in general usage has a certain force; it locates agency in social events by evoking the image of a ruling, controlling few, while being intractably vague' (Marcus 1983: 7). In my thesis, I use the term 'elite' as defined by Marcus in my paper.

Urasenke *chadō* used by some practitioners as a tool to draw a line between themselves and other practitioners, or, is family background more important than *chadō* knowledge?

Tsukada-*san* differentiated her friends and herself from Takema-*san* by emphasising their economic stability derived from their family background. Takema-*san* acquired some cultural prestige: symbolic capital, such as owning a teahouse which was named by the former *iemoto* (tea grand master). She also gained her social network by engaging in *chadō, ikebana,* golf and the Lions Club. However, Takema-*san* seemed to be considered as a different class, a *futsūno hito* (ordinary person) from Tsukada-*san* because of adverse economic factors. Similarly to Takema-*san,* because of the lack of inherited money, Tsukida-san and Chida-sensei were not recognised by other practitioners as of the same class as Akiko-*san* and Matsuha-san but simply categorised as *ganbaru hito* (serious persons). Tsukida-san and Chida-sensei had cultural and symbolic capital as being as *chadō sensei* and *chadō chamei* holders, but this was not sufficient for them to be categorised as the same class as Akiko-*san* and Matsuha-san.

Unlike Takema-*san,* Tsukida-san and Chida-sensei, Kishino-sensei, Naraoka-*san* and Tsushima-*san* were differentiated from normal practitioners as *subarashii kata* (wonderful persons) or *iitoko no ojyōsama* (young ladies from a good place). These practitioners were perceived as the upper-class because of their old elite family background. This gave them not only a considerable amount of symbolic capital from their well known family name (compare the practitioners' view of Kishino-sensei's inherited utensils with those of the construction company wife's) but also substantial economic stability (which was often pointed out by other practitioners such as their husband's income, their relatives' occupations or *kahō* [family treasure]). Moreover, their strong social networks, a kind of social capital, which enable them to organise events in Akita city and cultural capital including objectified forms of cultural capital such as precious utensils and expensive *kimonos* have also been discussed.

It thus appears that an old elite family background is recognised as more valuable cultural capital and a distinction tool among practitioners than the knowledge and skill of *chadō*. As discussed before, Tsushima-*san* had a shallow *chadō* knowledge, Yoshi-*san,* the daughter of Fukujyuen, a major tea company, also did not have

deep knowledge of *chadō*. Yoshi-*san* started to practise *chadō* regularly just a few years before when I met her and she said she did not pay much attention to *chadō* since she was so happy and busy with her boyfriend. However, most practitioners tended to assume that Tsushima-*san* and Yoshi-*san* had a larger amount of cultural capital than other practitioners who already had deep *chadō* knowledge. According to practitioners, this was because they thought that although these women's *chadō* skills were not necessarily high, they had a promising future to be good *chadō* practitioners through having a tea house, utensils and *kimonos*, social *chadō* connections through their relatives and domestic transmission of general cultural knowledge from their families. This tendency was apparent in Tokoro-*san*'s comment about Yoshi-*san*. She emphasised that even though Yoshi-*san*'s current *chadō* skill was not deep, her future was assured as a cultured woman because of her old elite family background. Bourdieu comments that the 'closer together class fraction are, the sharper is likely to be the boundary between them in terms of its symbolisation' (cited in Jenkins 1992: 143). In the case of *chadō*, it does not appear to be a major class fraction, however, some practitioners use their family background to differentiate themselves from other practitioners in Akita city.

Having said that old family background is recognised and used as a distinction tool among practitioners, I also want to point out that the knowledge and the skill of *chadō* are also used as a distinction tool especially among the Wednesday class practitioners, who want to become *chadō sensei* (teachers). In the Wednesday classes, practitioners, who had already acquired deep knowledge of *chadō*, such as *anadeshi-san* (big sister disciple) had powerful authority and they were regarded as the top of the hierarchy. After *anadeshi-san,* there were several advanced level practitioners who were close to becoming *anadeshi-san* and the majority of intermediate level practitioners followed the advanced level. Finally, there were a few beginners. They were recognised as the bottom level of the class, had no authority and were distinguished from other practitioners and of course from *anedeshi-san.* The distinction by *chadō* skills was apparent not only in the seating order in front of Anbo-*sensei* but also in their attitude to other practitioners during the *chadō* practice.

This phenomenon bears similarities to Edith Turner's (1992: 170-177) discussion of distinction in the ritual domain. Turner describes that Ihamba ritual comprises

small numbers of doctors, assistants and large numbers of ritual participants. A doctor has deep knowledge of the healing ritual: he knows the entire ritual procedure, variety of medicines, drumming and washing and as well as about spirit, which is symbolized in 'a tooth that had come from the skull of dead hunter' (Turner 1992: 7). Assistants also have a certain amount of ritual background including knowledge of ritual equipment. Turner was accepted as an assistant since doctors recognised her deep knowledge of the healing ritual, which she acquired with her husband in their previous fieldwork. Those who simply participate in ritual however have little knowledge and skill of Ihamba ritual. In the same way as *chadō* practitioners in the Wednesday class, Turner describes that the distinction is created in rituals according to participants' skill and knowledge: in Ihamba ritual, they are conscious and sensitive of their ritual skill and differentiate and discriminate between one another according to their skill level.

In *chadō* on the other hand, as I pointed out, this type of distinction mainly occurs among the Wednesday class practitioners, most of whom are not from upper-class in Akita city. As we can see from the examples of Yoshi-*san* and Tsushima-*san* above, the family background is often used as the distinction, especially distinction of class among entire *chadō* practitioners. Among all practitioners, although the distinction through *chadō* skill can be seen in the seating order in front of *sensei*, this way of distinction cannot be seen in practitioners' behaviour in their daily practice or in selection for important ritual performing occasions: as I discussed before, upper-class practitioners, such as Tsushima-*san* tend to have more opportunities than other practitioners to perform *temae* (tea procedure) at significant *chadō* ritual ceremony.

I have already argued that conversion of capital is apparent for some practitioners in order to differentiate themselves from non-practitioners, especially non-cultured women in Akita city. However, even among practitioners themselves there appears to be similar conversion of capital in order to distinguish one from another. For instance, Takema-*san* was trying to convert her social network into business profit. It appears to me that this is an example of the conversion of capital; social capital into economic capital. Furthermore, Takema-*san* was trying to upgrade her social position in Akita city by this conversion of capital.

I also saw many activities that could be interpreted as conversion of capital among

upper-class practitioners. They convert capital in order to maintain their dominant social position in the class structure in Akita city. Naraoka-*san* thought that her reputation for hosting tea gatherings would bring profit to her family business and it appeared that this was the conversion of her reputation: a type of symbolic capital into economic capital. On the other hand, Kishino-sensei invited many prestigious guests from Akita city through her networks and maintained her reputation as being a wonderful hostess. Her stories seem to be relevant to the conversion of social capital: her social network, into symbolic capital; good reputation. This reminds one of Bourdieu's (1989) argument about the bourgeoisie in France. Bourdieu points out that the bourgeoisie reproduce their class position by relying on extensive networking and this social capital is the reason why even a revolution did not produce serious damage to great bourgeois families.

In fact, this Bourdieu's (ibid.) point also applies to Akita's tight social network of upper-class which does not allow changes to the class structure. According to Handa (2005), Akita's upper-class group is maintained by a network of arranged marriage and adoption between upper-class families and this network maintains the financial profit among the upper-class. In order to maintain the family line and networks among successful business families, adult adoption is not rare in Japanese society (Kondo 1990, Lebra 1993). For instance, Naraoka-*san*'s relative did not have any children to succeed to their family business. Therefore, they adopted a daughter and a son: the daughter, from the owner of a sake brewing company from the southern part of Akita prefecture and a son from Kamada family, the successful business family in Akita port area. By the adoptions, Naraoka family maintained their strong business network and did not let newcomers expand their business activities in Akita city. Consequently, the Naraoka family still maintain their position as upper-class in Akita city.

When I look at these upper-class family members, they also seem to maintain their class system by the conversion of capital. Among Naraoka-*san*'s practitioners, Watana-*san*'s family used to be very successful landowners in the Akita area. However, they lost a large amount of economic power after the Second World War since 'the Allied Occupation Forces implemented wholesale land reforms' (Sugimoto 2003: 136). Despite these circumstances, the Watana family was still able to send their sons to private high schools and universities in Tokyo. Because of their educational background, the sons later became higher ranking

government officers in Akita city. Although sending children to private high schools and universities was quite an expensive thing to do for ordinary families, Watana family, being upper-class, could still afford to do so about their male children. Naraoka-*san*'s son also went to a private high school and a university in Tokyo area. Naraoka-*san* commented that, 'my son failed to get into the top high school in Akita city and he either could go to an ordinary school in Akita which was his second choice or good private high school in Tokyo. So, we sent him to good private high school in Tokyo'. Now Naraoka-*san*'s son is educated and trained well to later become the president of his family company. It appears to me that male members of upper-class families members convert economic capital: their family financial assets, into cultural capital: their private high school and university academic education in order to maintain their class position and further their business careers in Akita city.

On the other hand, I want to emphasise here that academic education was rarely discussed for female practitioners in terms of distinctions of class. As discussed before, academic education seems not to be considered as valuable cultural capital for women in Akita city and the following comment of Anbo-*sensei*'s acquaintance, Yuyama-*san* illustrates this. Yuyama-*san* was in his late forties, shared his life stories and talked about his marriage. He originally came from Akita city but he started living in Tokyo for his study at a prestigious university and then worked for a well-known foreign company. Yuyama-*san* said:

> When I was late twenties, my company offered me a great opportunity to study abroad. After I finished my study, I thought it must be about time for me to get married. I asked my parents to find a nice girl, so, you could say I asked for an arrange marriage. I asked my parents to find a girl who is not so educated. I do not like educated women. They are not obedient, but rather aggressive. They are opinionated and not nice to be with. So, my wife only graduated from a local high school for girls and she is quite nice.

Some families seem aware of such attitude among men and still insist that daughters in their families should not pursue academic education.

At the same time, Urasenke *chadō* is used as a convenient 'occasion or place' to reinforce distinction of those female practitioners who are from old elite families. It is because Urasenke *chadō* provides this occasion to display their family history through utensils and *kimonos* at tea gatherings and at *keiko* (daily practices). By organising tea gatherings, practitioners have many chances to show their *kahō* (family treasures); tea bowls, dishes, calligraphy, *kimonos* and their houses to

other practitioners and public eyes. Family backgrounds and histories are more visible in *chadō* than in other cultural activities; *ikebana* (flower arrangement), *nihon buyō* (Japanese dance), *shodō* (Japanese calligraphy), piano lessons or English conversation lessons. For instance, *ikebana* only provides the occasion to show their flower vases and *kimono* (nowadays, *ikebana* practitioners do not even wear *kimono* at their events). Even through *nihon buyō* is considered high-culture, practitioners do not often have chance to show their *kahō*. At the dance performance, practitioners have to use the fixed props and *kimonos* as costume for their dances. At *keiko* (daily practice), practitioners are requested to wear only *yukata* (informal *kimono* for summer time).

Additionally, Urasenke *chadō* is the most convenient 'occasion or place' for making class distinction particularly for female practitioners since Urasenke *chadō* is socially accepted as the females' domain through its association with middle-class femininity. Practitioners' husbands and Japanese society do not criticise female practitioners for using Urasenke *chadō* as a distinction tool or place since they take it for granted that *chadō* is a woman's activity.

Consequently, I conclude this section by maintaining that in the eyes of *chadō* practitioners, family background can represent valuable economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital. And family background is used as a tool to differentiate one practitioner from another.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, based on my participant observations and interviews, I have examined class issues in relation to *chadō* practitioners. As discussed in Chapter Two, Bourdieu (1984) argues that class is a subtle concept and constructed out of the 'awareness of others' (cited in Savage 2001: 107). Similarly, Finch (1993) points out that middle-class in the UK is conceptualised through the working-class category. It appears that *chadō* practitioners' concept of class also been rest on the awareness of other women or other practitioners in Akita city. Practitioners are always conscious of other practitioners' eyes on them and worry how other people perceive them. At the same time, they seem to be also very curious to see how they can differentiate themselves from other people.

I want to conclude this chapter by answering my second research question: what do Urasenke *chadō* practitioners tell us about class discourses and how has Urasenke *chadō* been used in class dynamics in Akita city? Here, I will summarise with three points. First of all, the discussions of practitioners show that they understand class in terms of cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital. Additionally, to be accepted as upper-class in Akita city requires a fine balance of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. My examples such as Ando-*san* and Fujita-san indicate that without this balance, upper-class position is not conferred.

Secondly, Urasenke *chadō* is recognised as cultural, symbolic, social and economic capital, and is used as a tool to distinguish between practitioners and non-practitioners, especially the non-cultured women. However, among *chadō* practitioners themselves, it is the old elite family history which is recognised as valuable cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital and often used as the tool to 'signify social difference and distance' (Bourdieu 1987: 15). As Bourdieu says, the value of symbolic capital changes in different fields and situations. *Chadō* is still recognised as symbolic capital, and as other forms of capital, but the knowledge or skills of *chadō* are not necessarily seen as a valuable distinction tool among practitioners themselves since many possess similar skills. Instead, the old elite family background is recognised as the most valuable tool for distinction among *chadō* practitioners.

When practitioners tried to differentiate themselves from other women in the town or from other practitioners, none of them used the term, *kaikyū, sō* or *mibun*, which can be translated as class. Instead when talking about one another, they used informal terms such as *futsū no hito* (an ordinary person) and *subarashii kata* (a wonderful person). However, the implications were similar. Therefore it was apparent that they were discussing class.

In the context of class discussion, I gave the example of my grandmother: by acquiring her fine posture through practice of *temae* my grandmother appears to believe that she improved herself. I argued that this account is relevant to Edith Turner's (1992) discussion regarding power in ritual. I also compared the skill based hierarchy in Ihamba ritual with *chadō* ritual in Akita city. I demonstrated that *chadō* ritual is multifaceted: here, the hierarchy is determined not only by

skill but also class and, as shown in Chapter Five, by gender.

Thirdly, I want to emphasise that individuals make use of *chadō* for their own agenda. For instance, *chadō* tea gatherings are the most convenient occasions for upper-class practitioners to show their *kahō* (family treasure) and draw a marker from other women of different class. Meanwhile other women use the cultural presige of *chadō* to enhance their social or economic situation. Indeed, *chadō* interweaves with class structure in multiple ways. In fact, I argue that the conversion of capital by *chadō* practitioners in relation to class is far more complex than Bourdieu's argument. Bourdieu emphasises the convertability of cultural capital but not of social or symbolic capital when discussing class. As I have demonstrated, the conversion of capital by *chadō* practitioners involves not only economic and cultural capital but also social and symbolic capital. This complexity in the case of *chadō* practitioners is derived from practitioners' understanding of class as not only associated with economic and cultural capital but also with symbolic and social capital.

Therefore, I conclude that *chadō* practitioners understand class by taking into account economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. And based upon their understandings, individual practitioners make use of *chadō* as a tool to improve or maintain their class position. Indeed, *chadō* interweaves with class structure in many ways.

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Appendix A Glossary

A note on local terms

1 Italics are used for Japanese words transcription, except for people's, place or institutions' names.

2 Ā, Ē, Ī, Ō, Ū in Japanese words indicate long vowels: *benkyō* is pronounced as [benkyo:]). Some well-accepted spelling, such as Tokyo are presented without signs, although they actually include long vowels: Tokyō.

Glossary

Akita-ben: Akita dialect

Amae: dependence

Amaeru: to depend upon; act or be dependent

Anedeshi-san: big sister disciple, experienced practitioner, who has been a pupil of the same teacher

Anime: cartoon

Anko: sweetened bean paste

Arigato gozaimashita: thank you very much

Aokaede: new maple leaves

Benkyō: study

Benkyōsuru: to study

Botsuraku kaikyū: collapsed class

Boshuzai: mothballs

Byakudan: wood incense from South East Asia.

Bunka: culture

Bunka shihon: cultural capital

Butsudan: household Buddhist altar

Chadō: tea ceremony

Chashaku: tea scoop

Chakin: cotton

Chaji: formal tea ceremony

Chaji geiko: formal tea ceremony class

Chamei: professional *chadō* name

Chasen: tea whisk

Chii: status

Chikutaikai: regional *chadō* conference

Chūryū: the middle domain of social status in Japan considering, respect, and prestige rather than straight economic capacity (Sugimoto 2003)

Chūsan: the middle to upper position in the economic hierarchy in Japan (Sugimoto 2003)

Community centre no hito: a person from the community centre

Cone: social network

Dairo: big hearth

Danshi-gumi seminar: the male only seminar

Deshabari: meddler

Enka: traditional Japanese ballads

Fukusa: small square silk cloth

Futsūno hito: an ordinary person

Ganbaru hito: a serious person

Goaisatsu: greeting

Gofukuya: kimono dealer

Gakusei seminar: student seminar

Gozumi-demae: charcoal procedure

Gyōtei: second highest ranked teacher in Urasenke

Hai: yes

Hakama: a traditional Japanese garment, resembling a divided skirt, worn by men on ceremonical occasions

Haji: shame

Hanayome shugyō: bridal training

Hangaeshi: half back

Hatsushimo: the first frost of the winter mountain

Henrei chakai: reciprocal tea gathering

Heri: boundary

Hibachi: metal chopsticks

Hina-ningyo: Japanese dolls

Honne: private feeling

Hōmongi: one of the styles of *kimono,* it has many decorations on the sleeves and the lower part of dress.

Ie: house, household or family

Iemoto: a grand tea master, or the structure and system of *chadō* school

Iimono: good thing or beneficial thing

Iitoko no ojyōsama: young lady from a good place.

Ikebana: flower arranging

Ikigai: raison d'etre

Ikiiki: lively

Ima: family dining room

Iyashi: therapeutic

Jiika: natal family

Jinushi: land owner

Jinsei no sempai: mentor of life

Jyōkamachi: castle town

Jyōshiki: common sense

Jyuku: cramming school

Jyun-kyōju: associate professor

Jyun-kyōjyu kyojō: associate professor qualification

Jyūshin: senior statesman

Kafunsho: hay fever

Kahō: family treasure

Kaikyū: class.

Kaiseki: Japanese gourmet dishes

Kaishi: folder of papers to put sweets on

Kamon: family crest

Kanai: wife

Karaoke: do-it-yourself vocals

Kashikiri: pick with which to eat sweets

Kayobi no hito: a person in the Tuesday class

Kendō: Japanese fencing

Kenkyukai: chadō seminars

Keiko: daily practice

Keikogi: practice-outfit

Kensui: wastewater container

Kidotteru: snobbish

Kikyō : vine

Kimono: Japanese garment, Japanese traditional dress

Kitsuke: how to put on a *kimono* properly

Kochi: the east wind

Kobukusa: small silk cloth used to protect utensils or one's hands

Koicha: thick green powdered tea

Koicha-demae: thick tea procedure

Kokuhō: national treasure

Kojyakin: folded damp cloth

Kosakunin: tenant owner

Koromogae: for the change of clothing of children's school uniform for the beginning of summer

Koto: Japanese harp

Kyakuma: guest lounge

Kyōiku mama: mother who devotes herself to her child's education

Kyojyō: permission

Kyōjyu kyojyō: professor qualification

Kyūka: old family

Kura: family treasure warehouse

Matcha: green powdered tea (steamed, dried and then ground tea leaves)

Meiyo: honour or prestige

Miai: arranged marriage

Mibun: status or social class

Mizuya: persons who are trained in *chadō*, who serve in the grand master's house as disciples

Mochi: glutinous rice cakes

Montsuki: crested *kimono*

Mu: emptiness

Nariagari: nouveau riche

Natsume: tea container

Nekoyanagi: pussy willow

Namaiki: impertinent

Nihon buyō: Japanese Dance

Nōh: classical Japanese dance-drama employing highly stylized dances, accompanied by a flute, two or three drums, and dramatic chants.

Obi: sash

Ochugen: mid summer gift

Office ladies: female clerical workers

Okashi: sweet

Okusan: wife

Oiwai: gratitude fee

Omogashi: sweets

On: debt

Oni: ogre

Ookura daijin: finance minister

Osaki shitsurei shimasu: excuse me for leaving ahead of you

Oseibo: a year end gift

Oyabun-kobun: parent-child relationship which consist of obligation of aid, and dependence on each other

Ojyōsan: (nice) young lady

Ojyōsama Daigaku: four-year-college for young ladies

Otsutsumi: gratitude fee.

Outeki: bush warbler flute

Oyakōkō: filial duty

Pachinko: type of pinball involving gambling

Ryōtei: upmarket Japanese restaurant

Ryūha: tea school

Sahō: etiquette and manners

Sake: Japanese rice wine

Saralyman: a white-collar, male company employee in private sector

Seishin syugyo: spiritual discipline

Seinenbu: chadō youth group

Senbetsu: farewell gift

Sensei: teacher

Sensu: folding fan

Shachū: the group of students who are learning from the same teacher

Shiawase: happiness

Shinkansen: bullet train

Shogo chaji: formal afternoon tea ceremony

Shōkyaku: first guest

Shūshinkoyō: lifetime employment

Shigeki: stimulation

Shugyo: training

Sō: stratification or class

Sogo-bunka: composite art form

Sokazari: whole decoration tea procedure

Sōrei: formal greeting

Soto: outside

Soto-geiko: outside-practice

Soto no hito: outsider

Subarashii kata: a wonderful person

Sugoi: wonderful

Suiyōbi no hito: a person in the Wednesday class

Susuki: Japanese pampas grass

Tabakobon: smoking box

Tabi: split-toed cotton socks

Tandai: two-year-college

Tatami: the Japanese straw mat

Tatemae: public behaviour

Teishu: host or hostess

Tekireiki: expected marriage age

Temae: tea procedure

Tokonoma: the recessed alcove

Tsubaki: camellia

Tsutsu-chawan: cynlindrical-shaped tea bowl

Uchi: inside

Uchi-geiko: inside-practice

Uchi no hito: insider

Uiteiru: floating

Urasenke: One of the tea schools in Japan, there are at least fourteen different tea schools in Japan.

Usucha-hirademae: thin tea procedure

Wagashi: traditional Japanese sweet

Yūga: elegant

Yukata: the traditional costume in Japan, informal wear for summer time

Zai: money

Zashō: the lingering summer heat

Appendix B Informants' background

There were 2044 Urasenke chado practitioners in Akita city in 2004 (Tankokai Akita Branch 2004). Out of 84 practitioners of my informants below, the average age of them was 49, five of them were male.

Table 1: Interviewees' background[1]

Name	**Age** **Sex F/M**	**Marital Status**	**Occupation**	**Spouses Occupation**	**Family background**	**Academic education**	**Hometown**	**Length of *chadō* practice**
1 Abo	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman*[2] Medium to small-sized company[3]	*Jiika*[4]- Farmer	High-school	Akita Prefecture	10 years
2 Anbo	80s F	Single (widow)	*Chadō* teacher	(Medical doctor)	*Jiika*- Ex-samurai class, *Honke*[5]- Owner of Mining	High-school	Akita Prefecture	10 years
3 Ando	50s F	Married	Employee- Medium to small-sized Company	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	25 years

[1] Each interviewee and informant was assigned a pseudonym to anonymous the data.
[2] A white-collar, male company employee in private sector.
[3] Total number of employees is 30-299.
[4] Natal family
[5] Main branch family and it is generally husband's family (it can be wife's family).

4 Atsuko	30s F	Single	Family business		*Jiika*-Father accountant	*Tandai*[6]	Akita Prefecture	8 years
5 Chiba	50s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Medical doctor	*Jiika*- Ex-merchant-class	*Ojyōsama daigaku*[7]	Akita city	38 years
6 Chieko	60s F	Married	Housewife	President Medium to small-sized company	*Jiika*- owner of lumber trade company *Honke*- owner of *sake*[8] brewing company	*Ojyōsama daigaku*	Ibaragi Prefecture	30 years
7 Hojyo	70s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (headmaster of school)	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	40 years
8 Honda	60s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	*Jiika*- Ex-landowner	High-school	Chiba Prefecture	25 years
9 Igarashi	50s F	Single	Employee-Medium to small-sized Company		*Jiika*- Ex-landowner Father- owner of medical clinic	4-year-college	Akita city	30 years
10 Ikeda	50s F	Married	Housewife	President Medium to small-sized	Not-known	4-year-college	Hyogo Prefecture	5 years

[6] Two-year-college
[7] four-year-college for young ladies
[8] Rice wine

				company				
11 Ishihara	30s F	Single	Employee Large-sized company		*Jiika*-Parents-Post office clerks	Graduate school	Akita Prefecture	10 years
12 Iwaki	40s F	Married	Housewife	Medical doctor	*Honke*- owner of medical clinic	*Ojyōsama daigaku*	Akita city	15 years
13 Kasai	60s F	Married	Housewife	Medical doctor	Not-known	Not-known	Aomori Prefecture	29 years
14 Kobaya	50s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Retired (*Salaryman* Large-sized company[9])	*Jiika*-Ex-samurai class, Father-medical doctor, *Honke*-Father-ex-mayor	4-year-college	Akita city	40 years
15 Kodama	50s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	*Jiika*-Ex-landowner	High-school	Akita Prefecture	25 years
16 Mikawa	40s F	Single	Family business		*Jiika*-Ex-landowner	*Tandai*	Akita Prefecture	10 years
17 Miyako	60s F	Married	Housewife	President Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	40 years
18 Monoo	30s F	Married	Housewife	Medical doctor	Not-known	High-school	Fukushima Prefecture	8 years

[9] Total number of employee is 300 or more.

19 Naraoka	50s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	President Medium to small-sized company	*Honke*- Ex-merchant class	*Ojyōsama daigaku*	Akita city	30 years
20 Noguchi	40s F	Single (widow)	Employee Medium to small-sized company	*(Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	*Jiika*- Ex-merchant Class	High-school	Akita city	30 years
21 Ootomo	20s F	Single	Chemist		*Jiika*- Parents- Junior high school teacher	4-year-college	Akita city	2 years
22 Orita	30s F	Single (engaged)	Chemist	(medical doctor)	Not-known	4-year-college	Akita city	1 year
23 Sato	50s F	Married	Housewife	Retired *(Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	Not-known	High-school	Aichi Prefecture	15 years
24 Sasaki	60s F	Single	Retired (School teacher)		Not-known	4-year-college	Akita Prefecture	20 years
25 Sugita	40s F	Married	Housewife	Medical doctor	*Honke*- owner of medical clinic, *Jiika*- *Salaryman*	Not-known	Saitama Prefecture	1 years
26 Suzuki	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Large-sized company	*Jiika*- Ex-landowner	Not-known	Akita Prefecture	20 years
27 Takashi	16 M	Single	Student		*Jiika*-Father *Salaryman*	High-school	Akita city	2 years
28 Takamine	50s F	Single	Government officer		Not-known	4-year-college	Akita city	15 years
29 Takeda	30s F	Married	Housewife	Government Officer	*Jiika*-owner of tea shop *Honke*-Farmer	*Tandai*	Kobe Prefecture	10 years

30 Takema	40s F	Married	Employee Medium to small-sized company	President Medium to small-sized company	*Honke*- owner of Medium and small-sized company	4-year-college	Akita city	15 years
31 Tamura	60s M	Married	Retired (High school teacher)	Housewife	Monk	4-year-college	Akita Prefecture	10 years
32 Tsushima	40s F	Married	Housewife	President Medium to small-sized company	*Jiika*- Ex-samurai class, Father- ex-mayor, *Honke*- Ex-merchant class	*Ojyōsama daigaku*	Osaka Prefecture	10 years
33 Watabe	70s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	*Honke*- Ex-landowner	High-school	Akita Prefecture	8 years
34 Watana	50s F	Married	Piano teacher	Government officer	*Jiika*- owner of lumber trade company, *Honke*- Ex-landowner	High-school	Akita Prefecture	10 years
35 Yama	70s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	*Jiika*- Father- a carpenter, *Honke*- Ex-merchant class	Vocational school	Akita city	35 years
36	60s	Married	Housewife	Retired (*Salaryman*	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	7 years

Yuka	F			Medium to small-sized company)				

Table 2: Informants' background[10]

Name	**Age Sex F/M**	**Marital Status**	**Occupation**	**Spouses Occupation**	**Family Background**	**Academic Education**	**Hometown**	**Length of *Chadō* Practice**
1 Akiko	30s F	Married	Housewife	Lawyer	*Jiika*- owner of *miso*[11] company, mother and aunt-*Chadō* teacher	4-year-college	Akita city	15 years
2 Chida	70s F	Single	*Chadō* teacher		*Jiika*-Barber	High-school	Akita-city	50 years

[10] I understand that all practitioners who I met during my fieldwork are my informants. This is because all of them gave me some information which is related to my research. However, it is impossible to introduce all of these informants' background. Therefore, in this table, I highlight practitioners, whose comments were directly cited in my discussions of this thesis.

[11] Soy beans paste

3 **Fuku**	40s F	Single	Hair dresser		Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	8 years
4 **Fujita**	50s F	Married	Housewife	Medical doctor	*Jiika*- Policeman	High-school	Akita Prefecture	15 years
5 **Funaki**	50s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	*Jiika*- owner of shop	Vocational school	Akita Prefecture	25 years
5 **Hashima**	50s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	Not-known	Akita city	25 years
6 **Iida**	50s M	Married	President Large-sized company	Housewife	*Honke*- Ex-samurai class	4-year-college	Saga Prefecture	15 years

7 Ikematsu	30s M	Married	*Salaryman* Large-sized company	Housewife	Not-known	4-year-college	Tokyo Prefecture	20 years
11 Imai	40s F	Married	Housewife	Government officer	Not-known	Not-known	Akita city	50 years
8 Kakudate	30s F	Single	Employee Medium to small-sized company		Not-known	High school	Akita city	3 years
9 Kikukawa	40s F	Married	Housewife	Ship crew	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	6 years
10 Kishino	70s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Medical doctor	*Jiika*- owner of *sake*[12]brewing company, *Honke*- owner of medical clinic	High-school	Akita city	15 years

[12] Rice wine

11 Kudo	30s F	Single	Sales Lady		*Jiika*-Parents primary school teacher	High-school	Akita city	35 years
12 Manda	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Large-sized company	*Jiika*- Ex-landowner	High-school	Akita Prefecture	33 years
14 Matsuha	80s F	Single (widow)	Housewife	(Medical doctor)	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	30 years
22 Mihoko	30s F	Married	Employee Medium to small-sized company	Primary school teacher	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	2 years
23 Miyama	30s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman*[13] Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	4-year-college	Tokyo Prefecture	10 years

[13] A white-collar, male company employee in private section

24 Noriko	50s F	Single (widow)	Housewife	(Medical doctor)	Not-known	High-school	Aomori city	20 years
25 Sakai	50s F	Married	*Chadō* teacher	Retired (high-school teacher)	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	20 years
26 Sasajima	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	*Jiika*- Craftsman	High-school	Akita Prefecture	30 years
27 Satomi	50s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (Government officer)	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	30 years
28 Sochi	60s F	Married	*Chadō* Teacher	Bookshop owner	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	28 years
29 Someya	50s F	Married	*Chadō* Teacher	Owner of temple	Owner of temple	High-school	Akita Prefecture	30 years
30 Soga	50s F	Single	Employee Medium to small-sized company		Not-known	4-year-college	Akita city	35 years
31 Sugimoto	60s F	Married	Housewife	Retired (*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company)	Owner of temple	High-school	Akita city	45 years
32 Sugiyama	30s F	Married	Employee Medium to small-sized company		Not-known	*Tandai*	Akita city	10 years

33 Tada	80s F	Married	Housewife	Owner of temple	Owner of temple	High-school	Akita Prefecture	45 years
34 Tagaya	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	28 years
35 Terakado	30s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	*Tandai*	Akita city	18 years
36 Tokoro	30s F	Married	Housewife	President Large-sized company	Not-known	4-year-college	Tokyo	10 years
37 Tsukada	50s F	Married	Housewife	President Medium to small-sized company	*Jiika*- Ex-landowner	*Tandai*	Akita city	46 years
38 Tsukida	50s F	Single	Kindergarten teacher		*Jiika*-Parents- elementary school teacher	High-school	Akita city	28 years
39 Yamato	30s F	Married	Housewife	Owner of medical clinic	Not-known	*Tandai*	Akita city	10 years
40 Yokota	70s F	Married	*Chadō* Teacher	Owner of construction company	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	36 years
41 Yokota	70s F	Mistress	*Chadō* Teacher	(Owner of construction company)	Not-known	High-school	Akita city	30 years
42 Yokote	50s F	Single (widow)	*Koto*[14] Teacher	(Owner of *sake*-brewing company)	*Jiika*- owner of a medical clinic	High-school	Akita Prefecture	
43 Yoshi	20s F	Single			*Jiika*-Father president of	4-year-college	Nara Prefecture	3 years

[14] Japanese harp

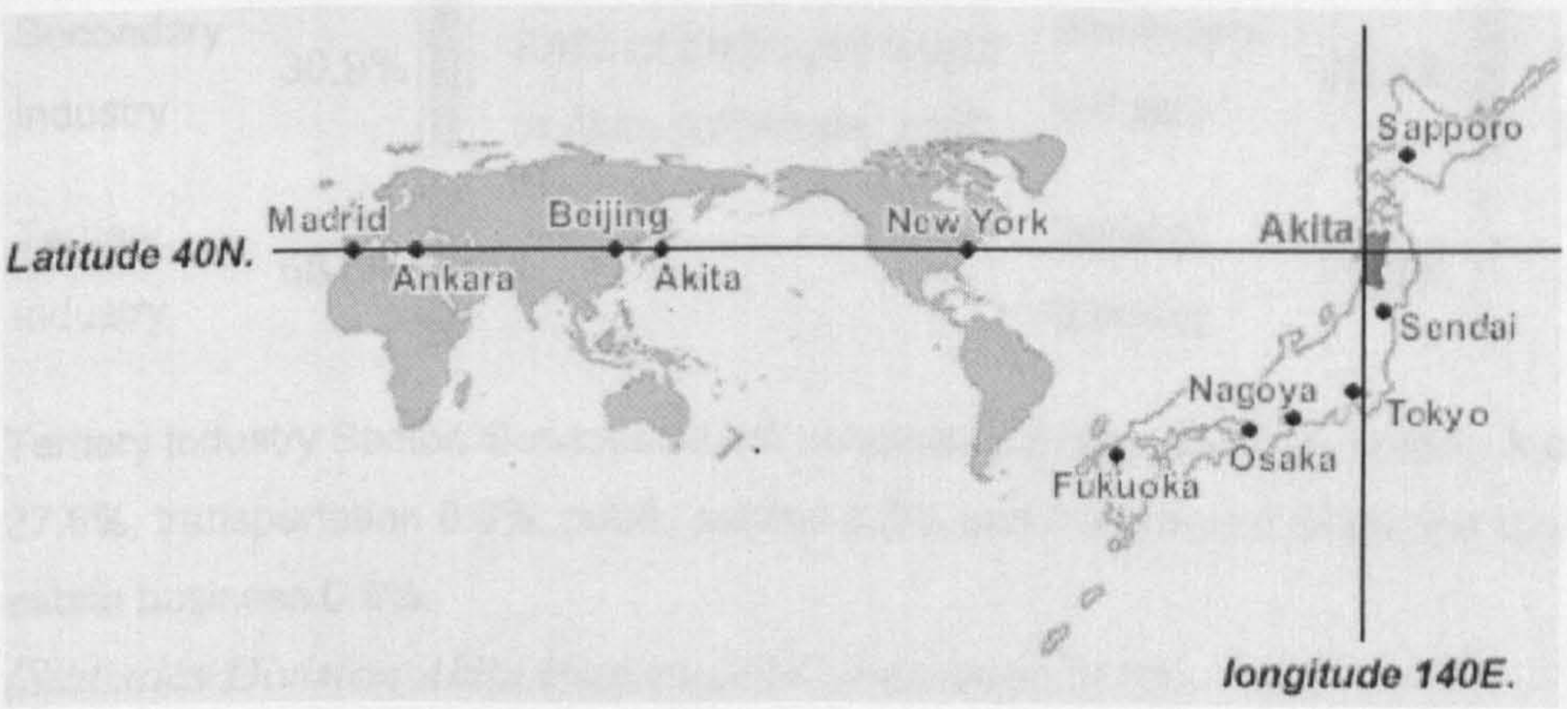
					large-sized company			
44 Yoshina	30s F	Single	Animal nurse		Not-known	4-year-college	Akita city	
45 Yoshino	50s F	Single	*Chadō* Teacher		Not-known	High-school	Fukushima Prefecture	30 years
46 Yoshiya	50s F	Married	Housewife	Owner of grocery store	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	5 years
47 Yushima	50s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	25 years
48 Yukari	20s F	Single	Student	Owner of medical clinic	Not-known	4-year-college	Fukushima Prefecture	5 years
49 Yutada	50s F	Married	*Chadō* Teacher	*Politician*	Not-known	High-school	Akita Prefecture	30 years
50 Yuyama	40s M	Married	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized Company	Housewife	Not-known	Graduate school	Akita city	
51 Yuzuno	30s F	Married	Housewife	*Salaryman* Medium to small-sized company	Not-known	*Tandai*	Akita city	10 years

Appendix C Akita city

Land

Akita city is the capital city of Akita prefecture and it is located in northwest Honshū, the main island of Japan. Akita prefecture is the sixth largest prefecture in Japan, composed of nine cities, 47 towns and nine villages (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005). Akita city is the biggest city in the prefecture and can be reached from Tokyo in one hour by plane and in less than four hours by *shinkansen* (bullet train). The climate of Akita city is influenced by weather on the Asian Continent, which results in large differences in temperature throughout every season of the year. Although there are many fine days where the temperature rises to 30℃ in summer, Akita area is well known for heavy snowfall and strong winds in winter compared to the other parts of Japan[1].

Figure1. Map of Akita



(Akita International University 2004)[2]

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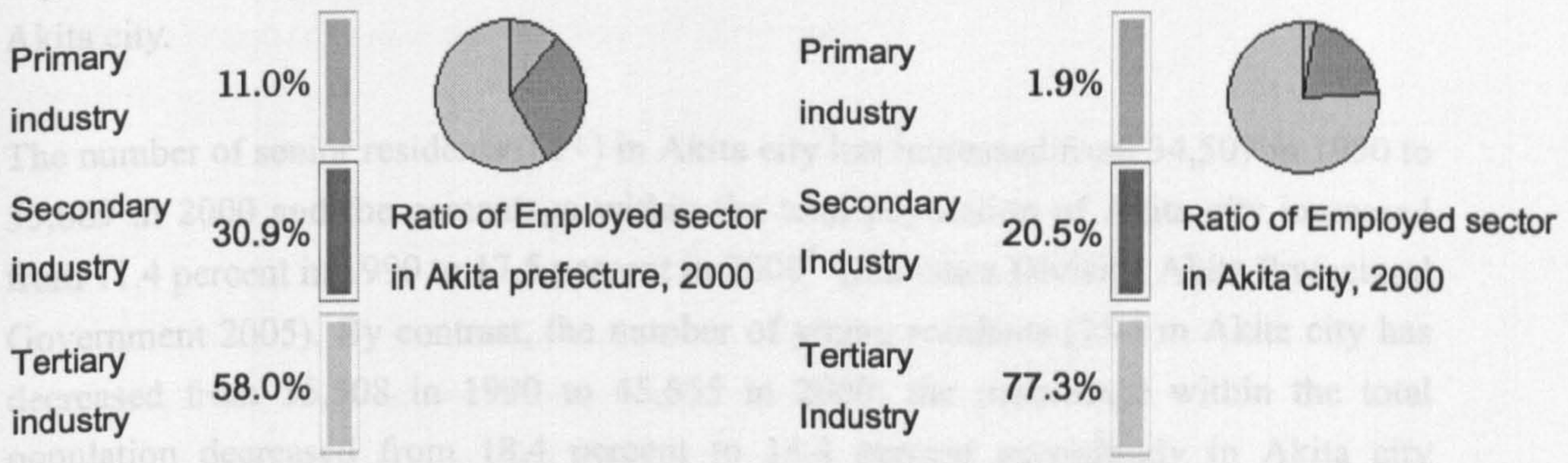
[1] Some of my informants mentioned to me that this winter is one of the reasons that *chadō* has been popular for women in Akita. Akita women, especially elderly women do not have out-door hobbies such as skiing, skating or snow-boarding. Additionally, Akita does not offer many other opportunities for winter entertainments, shopping, watching plays, or going to museum. Thus, my informants asserted that the best place for socialising for elderly women in winter is their cultural lessons such as *chadō*, *ikebana* (flower arranging), calligraphy and dancing lessons.

[2] Cited in http://www.aiu.ac.jp/cms/index.php

Labour

Akita prefecture has a fairly well balanced economy. Historically, mining, farming and forestry have been important. However, there is also a substantial manufacturing component and, as in all of Japan, there is a highly inflated construction sector. Tertiary industries are growing in Akita city as they are in the rest of Japan (Mock 2005). The table below describes the ratio of labour sector in Akita prefecture and Akita city in 2005. Akita City, as the largest inhabited district in the prefecture, shows quite a different pattern frim the more sparsely populated areas of the prefecture.

Figure 2 Ratio of Employed sector in Akita prefecture and Akita city, 2000[3]



Tertiary industry Sector: Services 32.3%, wholesale & retail trade and eating & drinking business 27.6%, transportation 6.6%, public service 5.3% and finance and insurance business 3.8%, real estate business 0.9%.

(Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005)

Population

The population was 332,881 in Akita city and 1,173,722 in Akita Prefecture in 2005 (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005). Akita city has been the only significantly growing city in Akita prefecture, whereas the population of other cities, towns and villages is holding steady or decreasing. This is because Akita city is recognised as the central position of Akita prefecture from many perspectives: economic, political and cultural. For instance, at the cultural level, there are more museums and concert halls in Akita city than anywhere else in Akita prefecture. Although there are several universities, colleges and research institutions in Akita city, the rest of Akita Prefecture has hardly any educational institutions like in Akita city. Mock (2005) argues

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3 Primary industry is agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Secondary industry includes mining and manufacturing. Tertiary industry includes wholesale, retail trade, eating/drinking places and services (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005)

that not only economic factors: job opportunities but also other factors such as social factors – notably status, occupational choices and educational opportunities have become the trigger to move to Akita city from other towns and villages in Akita prefecture. At the same time, as discussed in Chapter One, compared with other larger cities like Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka or Nagoya cities, Akita city has fewer high-level educational institutions, job opportunities, or choices and entertainment venues. Japanese top universities such as Tokyo University, Keio University and Waseda University and multi-international companies which generally provide high-income are mainly located in metropolitan areas. Therefore, some young people tend to leave Akita city and fewer internal immigrants from outside of Akita prefecture come and stay in Akita city.

The number of senior residents (65+) in Akita city has increased from 34,509 in 1990 to 55,689 in 2000 and the percentage within the total population of Akita city increased from 11.4 percent in 1990 to 17.5 percent in 2000[4] (Statistics Division Akita Prefectural Government 2005). By contrast, the number of young residents (15-) in Akita city has decreased from 55,508 in 1990 to 45,655 in 2000; the percentage within the total population decreased from 18.4 percent to 14.4 percent accordingly in Akita city (Health Division Akita Prefectural Government 2003).

History

During the Edo period (1603-1867), Lord Satake governed the district of Akita area. He fostered farming, forestry, mining and Akita prospered. Lord Satake also had a great understanding of culture. For instance, he introduced *ranga* (Dutch painting) style to artists in Akita area and Akita painting, *Akita ranga* (Akita style Dutch painting) became well recognised in Japan at the end of the Edo period (1603-1867) (Yamada 2005). Akita city is well known as *jyōkamachi* (castle town) and the lord's influence can still be seen and heard during Akita's daily life and in *chadō*; Lord Satake's calligraphy and paintings often decorate tea gatherings in Akita city.

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[4] The number of senior residents (65+) has also increased in Akita prefecture from 358,562 in 1990 to 389,190 in 2000. Male average life expectancy has risen from 75.29 in 1990, to 76.81 in 2000: Female average life expectancy has increased from 81.80 in 1990, to 84.32 in 2000 in Akita prefecture. By contrast, the birth rate has decreased. The birth rate per 1,000 was 9.0 in 1990 and it decreased to 7.6 in 2000 in Akita prefecture (Health Division Akita Prefectural Government 2003).

Appendix D The *kyojō* (permission) system

Table 3: The kyojō (permission) system in Urasenke 2001 (Chado Urasenke Tankokai Sohonbu 2001:11)

Content of permission	Certificate	Member group
Step 1 *Nyūmon* (entrance): basic movement and tea procedure	*Shokyū* (beginner level)	*Futsūkaiin* (ordinary member)
Step 2 Konarai jurokkajyō *(sixteen small practices): 16 variations* of basic tea procedure	*Shokyū*	*Futsūkaiin*
Step 3 *Chabakodate* (tea box tea procedure): tea procedure for outdoors	*Shokyū*	*Futsūkaiin*
Step 4 *Hidden or Den-mono* (secret transmissions): five tea procedures using precious utensils: *1.Satsubako*: tea procedure with two powdered containers, *2.Karamono*: with a Chinese tea powder container, *3.Daitenmoku*: with a Chinese tea bowl, *4.Bondate*: with a Chinese tea powder container on a small tray, *5.Wakindate*: with fabric.	*Cyūkyū* (intermediate level)	*Futsūkaiin*
Step 5 *Okuhi* (great secrets): four tea procedure using the most precious utensils: *1.Gyo-no-gyo-daisu*: tea procedure with a dare wooden shelf, *2.Daien-no-so*: with a round lacquered tray. *Hikitsugi*: permission to study advanced level and to be *Jyokoushi*, assistant lecturer	*Jyōkyū* (advanced level), *Jyokoushi:* (assistant lecturer)	*Seikaiin* (formal member)
Step 6 *Okuhi* (great secrets): four tea procedure using the most precious utensils*: 3. Shin-no-gyo-daisu* :with a lacquered shelf, *4. Daien-no-shin* :with a lacquered shelf and a Chinese lacquered tray. *Sei-hikitsugi*: permission to be *Koushi*, lecturer	*Koushi* (lecturer)	*Syushin-seikaiin* (life-long member)

Step 7 *Chamei*: permission to have professional name, *Sennin koushi:* permission to be full-time lecturer *Monkyō*: permission to wear Sen[5] family's emblem on *kimono*	*Chamei* (professional name), *Sennin-Koushi* (full-time lecturer)	*Syushin-Shihankaiin* (life-long lecturer)
Step 8 *Jyun-kyōju:* permission to be associate professor	*Jyun-kyōjyu* (associate professor)	*Syushin-Shihankaiin*
Step 9 *Kyōjyu*: permission to be professor	*Kyōjyu* (professor)	*Tokubetsu-Shihankaiin* (special life-long lecturer)

[5] Sen Family is the family which the grand tea master belongs to (The grand tea master's family name is Sen).